artibus antistat spes lucri; et formosior est cumulus auri, quam quidquid Græci Latinique delirantes scripserunt. Ex hoc numero deinde veniunt ad gubernacula reipub. intersunt et præsunt consiliis regum; o pater! o patria! so he complained; and so many others: for even so we finde, to serve a great man, to get an office in some bishops court (to practise in some good town), or compass a benefice, is the mark we shoot at, as being so advantageous, the high way to preferment.

Although, many times, for ought I can see, these men fail as often as the rest in their projects, and are as usually frustrate of their hopes: for, let him be a doctor of the law, an excellent civilian of good worth, where shall he practise and expatiate? Their fields are so scant, the civil law with us so contracted with prohibitions, so few causes, by reason of those all-devouring municipal laws, *(quibus nihil illiteratius,* saith [a] Erasmus—an illiterate and a barbarous study; for, though they be never so well learned in it, I can hardly vouchsafe them the name of schollars, except they be otherwise qualified) and so few courts are left to that profession, such slender offices, and those commonly to be compassed at such dear rates, that I know not how an ingenious man should thrive amongst them. Now for physitians, there are in every village so many mountebanks, empericks, quack-salvers, Paracelsians (as they call themselves), *causifici et sanicidæ* (so [b] Clenard terms them), wizards, alchymists, poor vicars, cast apothecaries, physitians men, barbers, and good wives, professing gre skill, that I make great doubt how they shall be maintained, or who shall be their patients. Besides, there are so many of both sorts, and some of them such harpyes, so covetous, so clamorous, so impudent, and (as [c] he said) litigious ideots,

> Quibus loquacis affatim arrogantiæ est,
> Peritiæ parum aut nihil,
> Nec ulla mica literarii salis;
> Crumenimulga natio,
> Loquutuleia turba, litium strophæ,
> Maligna litigantium,
> Cohors, togati vultures,
> Lavernæ alumni, agyrtæ, &c.
>
> Which have no skill, but prating arrogance,
> No learning; such a purse-milking nation,
> Gown'd vultures, theeves, and a litigious rout
> Of coseners, that haunt this occupation,

that they cannot well tell how to live one by another, but, as he jested (in the comedy) of cooks, they were so many, [d] *major pars populi aridâ reptat fame*, they are almost starved a-

[a] Ciceron. dial. [b] Epist. lib. 2. [c] Ja. Dousa, Epodon lib. 2, car. 2. [d] Plautus.

great part of them, and ready to devour their fellowes, [a] *et noxiâ calliditate se corripere;* such a multitude of pettifoggers and empericks, such impostours, that an honest man knows not in what sort to compose and behave himself in their society, to carry himself with credit in so vile a rout; *scientiæ nomen, tot sumtibus partum et vigiliis, profiteri dispudeat, postquam, &c.*

Last of all, to come to our divines, the most noble profession and worthy of double honour, but of all others the most distressed and miserable. If you will not beleeve me, hear a briefe of it, as it was, not many yeares since, publikely preached at Paul's cross, [b] by a grave minister then, and now a reverend bishop of this land. *We, that are bred up in learning, and destinated by our parents to this end, we suffer our childhood in the grammar school, which Austin calls* magnam tyrannidem, et grave malum, *and compares it to the torments of martyrdome; when we come to the university, if we live of the college allowance, as Phalaris objected to the Leontines,* παντων ειδεις, πλην λιμου και φοβου, *needy of all things but hunger and feare; or, if we be maintained but partly by our parents cost, do expend in* [un] *necessary maintenance, bookes, and degrees, before we come to any perfection, five hundred pounds, or a thousand marks. If, by this price of the expence of time, our bodies and spirits, our substance and patrimonies, we cannot purchase those small rewards, which are ours by law, and the right of inheritance, a poor parsonage, or a vicarage of* 50l. per annum, *but we must pay to the patron for the lease of a life (a spent and out-worn life), either in annual pension, or above the rate of a coppyhold, and that with the hazard and loss of our soules, by simony and perjury, and the forfeiture of all our spiritual preferments,* in esse *and* posse, *both present and to come; what father after a while will be so improvident, to bring up his son, to his great charge, to this necessary beggery? What Christian will be so irreligious to bring up his son in that course of life, which, by all probability and necessity,* cogit ad turpia, *enforcing to sin, will entangle him in simony and perjury, when as the poet saith,*

Invitatus ad hæc aliquis de ponte negabit——

a beggers brat, taken from the bridge where he sits a begging, if he knew the inconvenience, had cause to refuse it. This being thus, have not we fished faire all this while, that are initiate divines, to find no better fruits of our labours?

[c] Hoc est, cur palles? cur quis non prandeat, hoc est?

Do we macerate our selves for this? is it for this we rise so early all the year long, [d] *leaping* (as he saith) *out of our beds, when we hear the bell ring, as if we had heard a thunder clap?*

[a] Barc. Argenis, lib. 3. [b] Joh. Howson, 4 Novembris, 1597. The sermon was printed by Arnold Hartfield. [c] Pers. Sat. 3. [d] E lecto exilientes, ad subitum tintinnabuli plausum, quasi fulmine territi. 1.

If this be all the respect, reward, and honour, we shall have,

[a] Frange leves calamos, et scinde, Thalia, libellos:

let us give over our bookes, and betake our selves to some other course of life. To what end should we study?

[b] Quid me literulas stulti docuere parentes?

what did our parents mean to make us schollars, to be as far to seek for preferment after twenty yeares study, as we were at first? why do we take such pains?

Quid tantum insanis juvat impallescere chartis?

If there be no more hope of reward, no better encouragement, I say again,

Frange leves calamos, et scinde, Thalia, libellos:

let's turn souldiers, sell our bookes, and buy swords, guns, and pikes, or stop bottles with them, turn our philosophers gowns (as Cleanthes once did) unto millers coats, leave all, and rather betake our selves to any other course of life, than to continue longer in this miserie. [c] *Præstat dentiscalpia radere, quam literariis monumentis magnatum favorem emendicare.*

Yea, but me thinks I hear some man except at these words, that (though this be true which I have said of the estate of schollars, and especially of divines, that it is miserable and distressed at this time, that the church suffers shipwrack of her goods, and that they have just cause to complain) there is a fault; but whence proceeds it? if the cause were justly examined, it would be retorted upon our selves; if we were cited at that tribunal of truth, we should be found guilty, and not able to excuse it. That there is a fault among us, I confess; and, were there not a buyer, there would not be a seller: but to him that will consider better of it, it will more than manifestly appear, that the fountain of these miseries proceeds from these griping patrons. In accusing them, I do not altogether excuse us: both are faulty, they and we: yet, in my judgement, theirs is the greater fault, more apparent causes, and more to be condemned. For my part, if it be not with me as I would, or as it should, I do ascribe the cause (as [d] Cardan did in the like case) *meo infortunio potius quam illorum sceleri*, to [e] mine own infelicity, rather than their naughtiness, (although I have been baffled in my time by some of them, and have as just cause to complain as another) or rather indeed to mine

[a] Mart. [b] Mart. [c] Sat. Menip. [d] Lib. 3. de cons. [e] I had no mony: I wanted impudence: I could not scamble, temporize, dissemble: non prandebit olus, &c.—Vis, dicam? ad palpandum et adulandum penitus insulsus, recudi non possum, jam senior, ut sim talis; et fingi nolo, utcunque male cedat in rem meam, et obscurus inde delitescam.

own negligence; for I was ever like that Alexander (in [a]Plutarch) Crassus his tutour in philosophy, who, though he lived many yeares familiarly with rich Crassus, was even as poor when from, (which many wondred at) as when he came first to him. He never asked; the other never gave him any thing; when he travelled with Crassus, he borrowed an hat of him, at his return restored it again. I have had some such noble friends, acquaintance, and schollars; but, most part, (common courtesies and ordinary respects excepted) they and I parted as we met: they gave me as much as I requested, and that was——And as Alexander ab Alexandro *(Genial. dier. l. 6. c. 16)* made answer to Hieronymus Massainus that wondred, *quum plures ignavos et ignobiles ad dignitates et sacerdotia promotos quotidie videret*, when other men rose, still he was in the same state, *eodem tenore et fortunâ, cui mercedem laborum studiorumque deberi putaret*, whom he thought to deserve as well as the rest—he made answer, that he was content with his present estate, was not ambitious; and, although *objurgabundus suam segnitiem accusaret, cum obscuræ sortis homines ad sacerdotia et pontificatus evectos, &c.* he chid him for his backwardness, yet he was still the same: and for my part (though I be not worthy perhaps to carry Alexander's bookes) yet by some overweening and well wishing friends, the like speeches have been used to me; but I replyed still, with Alexander, that I had enough, and more peradventure than I deserved; and with Libanius Sophista, that rather chose (when honours and offices by the emperour were offered unto him) to be *talis sophista, quam talis magistratus*, I had as lieve be still Democritus junior, and *privus privatus, si mihi jam daretur optio, quam talis fortasse doctor, talis dominus.——Sed quorsum hæc?* For the rest, 'tis, on both sides, *facinus detestandum* to buy and sell livings, to detain from the church that which God's and mens lawes have bestowed on it; but in them most, and that from the covetousness and ignorance of such as are interested in this business. I name covetousness in the first place, as the root of all these mischiefes, which (Achan like) compels them to commit sacrilege, and to make Simoniacal compacts, (and what not?) to their own ends, [b] and that kindles God's wrath, brings a plague, vengeance, and an heavy visitation upon themselves and others. Some, out of that insatiable desire of filthy lucre, to be enriched, care not how they come by it, *per fas et nefas*, hook or crook, so they have it. And others, when they have, with ryot and prodigality, imbezelled their estates, to recover themselves,

[a] Vit. Crassi. Nec facile judicari potest, utrum pauperior cum primo ad Crassum, &c. [b] Deum habent iratum; sibique mortem æternam acquirunt, alias miserabilem ruinam. Serrarius, in Josuam, 7. Euripides.

make a prey of the church, (robbing it, as [a] Julian the Apostate did) spoyl parsons of their revenues (in keeping half back, [b] as a great man amongst us observes), *and that maintenance on which they should live;* by meanes whereof, barbarism is increased, and a great decay of Christian professours: for who will apply himself to these divine studies, his son, or friend, when, after great pains taken, they shall have nothing whereupon to live? But with what event do they these things?

> [c] Opesque totis viribus venanimi:
> At inde messis accidit miserrima.

They toyle and moyle, but what reap they? They are commonly unfortunate families that use it, accursed in their progeny, and, as common experience evinceth, accursed themselves in all their proceedings. *With what face* (as [d] he quotes out of Austin) *can they expect a blessing or inheritance from Christ in heaven, that defraud Christ of his inheritance here on earth?* I would all our Simoniacal patrons, and such as detain tithes, would read those judicious tracts of S[r]. Henry Spelman, and S[r]. James Sempill, knights; those late elaborate and learned treatises of D[r]. Tilslye and M[r]. Montague, which they have written of that subject. But, though they should read, it would be to small purpose; *clames, licet, et mare cœlo confundas;* thunder, lighten, preach hell and damnation, tell them 'tis a sin; they will not beleeve it: denounce and terrifie; they have [e] cauterized consciences; they do not attend; as the inchanted adder, they stop their ears. Call them base, irreligious, prophane, barbarous, pagans, atheists, Epicures, (as some of them surely are) with the bawd in Plautus, *Euge! optime!* they cry; and applaud themselves with that miser, [f] *simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ:* say what you will, *quocunque modo rem:* as a dog barks at the moon, to no purpose are your sayings: take your heaven, let them have mony—a base, prophane, epicurean, hypocritical rout. For my part, let them pretend what zeal they will, counterfeit religion, blear the worlds eys, bumbast themselves, and stuffe out their greatness with church spoyls, shine like so many peacocks—so cold is my charity, so defective in this behalf, that I shall never think better of them, than that they are rotten at core, their bones are full of epicurean hypocrisie, and atheistical marrow; they are worse than heathens. For, as Dionysius Halicarnasseus observes (*Antiq. Rom. lib. 7*) [g] *Primum locum,*

[a] Nicephorus, lib. 10. cap. 5. [b] Lord Cook, in his Reports, second part, fol. 44. [c] Euripides. [d] Sir Henry Spelman, de non temerandis Ecclesiis. [e] 1 Tim. 4. 2. [f] Hor. [g] Primum locum apud omnes gentes habet patritius deorum cultus, et geniorum; nam hunc diutissime custodiunt, tam Græci quam barbari, &c.

&c. Greeks and barbarians observe all religious rites, and dare not break them, for feare of offending their gods: but our Simoniacal contracters, our senseless Achans, our stupified patrons, feare neither God nor divel: they have evasions for it; it is no sin, or not due *jure divino*, or, if a sin, no great sin, &c. And, though they be dayly punished for it, and they do manifestly perceive, that (as he said) frost and fraud come to fowl ends; yet (as [a]Chrysostome follows it) *nulla ex pœnâ fit correctio; et, quasi adversis malitia hominum provocetur, crescit quotidie quod puniatur:* they are rather worse than better:

——— iram atque animos a crimine sumunt;

and the more they are corrected, the more they offend: but let them take their course, (*[b]Rode, caper, vitem*) go on still as they begin, ("'tis no sin!") let them rejoyce secure: God's vengeance will overtake them in the end; and these ill gotten goods, as an eagles feathers, [c]will consume the rest of their substance: it is [d]*aurum Tolosanum*, and will produce no better effects. *Let them lay it up safe, and make their conveyances never so close, lock and shut door,* saith Chrysostome: *yet fraud and covetousness, two most violent theeves, are still included; and a little gain, evil gotten, will subvert the rest of their goods.* The eagle in Æsop, seeing a peece of flesh, now ready to be sacrificed, swept it away with her claws, and carryed it to her nest: but there was a burning cole stuck to it by chance, which unawares consumed her yong ones, nest and all together. Let our Simoniacal church-chopping patrons, and sacrilegious harpyes, look for no better success.

A second cause is ignorance, and from thence contempt; *successit odium in literas ab ignorantiâ vulgi;* which [e]Junius well perceived: this hatred and contempt of learning proceeds out of [f]ignorance; as they are themselves barbarous, ideots, dull, illiterate, and proud, so they esteem of others.

Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones:

let there be bountiful patrons, and there will be painful schollars in all sciences. But, when they contemn learning, and think themselves sufficiently qualified, if they can write and read, scamble at a piece of evidence, or have so much Latin as that emperour had, [g]*qui nescit dissimulare, nescit vivere*, they are unfit to do their countrey service, to perform or un-

[a] Tom. 1. de steril. trium annorum sub Eliâ sermone. [b] Ovid. Fast. [c] De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres. [d] Strabo, l. 4. Geog. [e] Nihil facilius opes everteris, quam avaritia et fraude parta. Etsi enim seram addas tali arcæ, et exteriore januâ et vecte eam communias, intus tamen fraudem et avaritiam, &c. In 5. Corinth. [f] Acad. cap. 7. Ars neminem habet inimicum, præter ignorantem. [g] He that cannot dissemble cannot live.

dertake any action or employment, which may tend to the good of a common-wealth, except it be to fight, or to do countrey justice, with common sense, which every yeoman can likewise do. And so they bring up their children, rude as they are themselves, unqualified, unlaught, uncivil most part. [a] *Quis e nostrâ juventate legitime instituitur literis? quis oratores aut philosophos tangit? quis historiam legit, illam rerum agendarum quasi animam? Præcipitant parentes vota sua*, &c. 'twas Lipsius complaint to his illiterate countrey-men: it may be ours. Now shall these men judge of a schollars worth, that have no worth, that know not what belongs to a students labours, that cannot distinguish between a true schollar and a drone? or him that by reason of a voluble tongue, a strong voyce, a pleasing tone, and some trivantly Polyanthean helps, steals and gleans a few notes from other mens harvests, and so makes a fairer shew, than he that is truly learned indeed; that thinks it no more to preach, than to speak, [b] *or to run away with an empty cart* (as a grave man said); and thereupon vilifie us, and our pains; scorn us, and all learning. [c] Because they are rich, and have other meanes to live, they think it concerns them not to know, or to trouble themselves with it; a fitter task for yonger brothers, or poor mens sons, to be pen and inkhorn men, pedantical slaves, and no whit beseeming the calling of a gentleman, as Frenchmen and Germans commonly do, neglecting therefore all humane learning: what have they to do with it? Let marriners learn astronomy; merchants factors study arithmetick; surveyors get them geometry; spectacle-makers opticks; landleapers geography; town-clarks rhetorick; what should he do with a spade, that hath no ground to dig? or they with learning, that have no use of it? Thus they reason, and are not ashamed to let marriners, prentises, and the basest servants, be better qualified than themselves. In former times, kings, princes, and emperours were the only schollars, excellent in all faculties.

Julius Cæsar mended the year, and writ his own Commentaries:

> ——— [d] media inter prælia, semper
> Stellarum cœlique plagis, superisque vacavit.

[e] Antoninus, Adrian, Nero, Severus, Julian, &c. [f] Michael the emperour, and Isacius, were so much given to their studies, that

[a] Epist. quæst. lib. 4. epist. 21. Lipsius. [b] Dr. King, in his last lecture on Jonah, sometimes right reverend lord bishop of London. [c] Quibus opes et otium, hi barbaro fastu literas contemnunt. [d] Lucan. lib. 8. [e] Spartian. Solicili de rebus nimis. [f] Nicet. l. Anal. Fumis lucubrationum sordebant.

no base fellow would take so much pains: Orion, Perseus, Alphonsus, Ptolemæus, famous astronomers; Sabor, Mithridates, Lysimachus, admired physitians—Plato's kings, all; Evax, that Arabian prince, a most expert jeweller, and an exquisite philosopher; the kings of Egypt were priests of old, and chosen from thence: *Rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos:* but those heroicall times are past: the Muses are now banished, in this bastard age, *ad sordida tuguriola*, to meaner persons, and confined alone almost to universities. In those days, schollars were highly beloved, [a]honoured, esteemed, as old Ennius by Scipio Africanus, Virgil by Augustus, Horace by Mæcenas; princes companions; dear to them, as Anacreon to Polycrates, Philoxenus to Dionysius, and highly rewarded. Alexander sent Xenocrates the philosopher fifty talents, because he was poor, *visu rerum aut eruditione præstantes viri mensis olim regum adhibiti*, as Philostratus relates of Adrian, and Lampridius of Alexander Severus. Famous clarks came to these princes courts, *velut in Lycæum*, as to an university, and were admitted to their tables, *quasi divûm epulis accumbentes*: Archelaüs, that Macedonian king, would not willingly sup without Euripides, (amongst the rest he drank to him at supper one night, and gave him a cup of gold for his pains) *delectatus poëtæ suavi sermone:* and it was fit it should be so, because (as [b]Plato in his Protagoras well saith) a good philosopher as much excells other men, as a great king doth the commons of his countrey; and again, [c]*quoniam illis nihil deest, et mihi me egere solent, et disciplinas, quas profitentur, soli a contentu vindicare possunt;* they needed not to beg so basely, as they compell [d]schollars in our times to complain of poverty, or crouch to a rich chuff for a meals meat, but could vindicate themselves, and those arts which they professed. Now they would and cannot; for it is held by some of them, as an axiome, that to keep them poor, will make them study; they must be dyeted, as horses to a race, not pampered; [e]*alendos volunt, non saginandos, ne melioris mentis flammula extinguatur:* a fat bird will not sing, a fat dog cannot hunt; and so, by this depression of theirs, [f]some want meanes, others will, all want [g]encouragement, as being forsaken almost, and generally contemned. 'Tis an old saying,

Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marone [h];

[a] Grammaticis olim et dialecticis jurisque professoribus, qui spectamen eruditionis dedissent, eadem dignitatis insignia decreverunt imperatores, quibus ornabant heroas. Erasm. ep. Jo. Fabio epis. Vien. [b] Probus vir et philosophus magis præstat inter alios homines, quam rex inclytus inter plebeios. [c] Heinsius, præfat. Poëmatum. [d] Servile nomen scholaris jam. [e] Seneca. [f] Haud facile emergunt, &c. [g] Mediâ quod noctis ab horâ Sedisti, qui rem non faber, quâ nemo sedebat, Qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro: Rara tamen merces. Juv. Sat. 7.

and 'tis a true saying still. Yet oftentimes, I may not denye it, the main fault is in ourselves. Our academicks too frequently offend in neglecting patrons (as [a] Erasmus well taxeth,) or making ill choyce of them; *negligimus oblatos, aut amplectimur parum aptos;* or if we get a good one, *non studemus mutuis officiis favorem ejus alere,* we do not plye and follow him as we should. *Idem mihi accidit adolescenti* (saith Erasmus, acknowledging his fault); *et gravissime peccavi:* and so may [b] I say my self, I have offended in this, and so peradventure have many others: we did not *respondere magnatum favoribus, qui cœperunt nos amplecti,* apply our selves with that readiness we should: idleness, love of liberty, *(immodicus amor libertatis effecit, ut diu cum perfidis amicis,* as he confesseth, *et pertinaci paupertate, colluctarer)* bashfulness, melancholy, timorousness, cause many of us to be too backward and remiss. So some offend in one extream, but too many on the other: we are, most part, too forward, too solicitous, too ambitious, too impudent: we commonly complain *deesse Mæcenates,* want of encouragement, want of meanes, when as the true defect is our want of worth, our insufficiency. Did Mæcenas take notice of Horace or Virgil, till they had shewed themselves first? or had Bavius and Mævius any patrons? *Egregium specimen dent,* saith Erasmus: let them approve themselves worthy first, sufficiently qualified for learning and manners, before they presume or impudently intrude and put themselves on great men, as too many do, with such base flattery, parasitical colloguing, such hyperbolical elogies they do usually insinuate, that it is a shame to hear and see. *Immodicæ laudes conciliant invidiam, potius quam laudem;* and vain commendations derogate from truth; and we think, in conclusion, *non melius de laudato, pejus de laudante,* ill of both, the commender and commended. So we offend; but the main fault is in their harshness, defect of patrons. How beloved of old, and how much respected, was Plato of Dionysius! How dear to Alexander was Aristotle, Demaratus to Philip, Solon to Crœsus, Anaxarchus and Trebatius to Augustus, Cassius to Vespasian, Plutarch to Trajan, Seneca to Nero, Simonides to Hieron! how honoured!

> [c] Sed hæc prius fuere; nunc recondita
> Senent quiete:

those dayes are gone;

> Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum:

[a] Chil. 4. Cent. 1. adag. 1. [b] Had I done as others did, put myself forward, I might have haply been as great a man as many of my equals. [c] Catullus, Juven.

as he said of old, we may truly say now: he is our amulet, our [a]sun, our sole comfort and refuge, our Ptolemy, our common Mæcenas, *Jacobus munificus, Jacobus pacificus, mysta Musarum, rex Platonicus: grande decus, columenque nostrum;* a famous schollar himself, and the sole patron, pillar, and sustainer of learning: but his worth in this kinde, is so well known, that (as Paterculus, of Cato) *jam ipsum laudare nefas sit;* and (which [b]Pliny to Trajan) *seria te carmina, honorque æternus annalium, non hæc brevis et pudenda prædicatio, colet.* But he is now gone, the sun of ours set; and yet no night follows.

——— Sol occubuit; nox nulla sequuta est.

We have such another in his room—

——————————[c] alter
Aureus; et simili frondescit virga metallo;

and long may he raign and flourish amongst us.

Let me not be malitious, and lye against my genius; I may not denye, but that we have a sprinkling of our gentry, here and there one, excellently well learned, like those Fuggeri in Germany, Dubartas, Du Plessis, Sadael in France, Picus Mirandula, Schottus, Barotius in Italy:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto:

but they are but few in respect of the multitude: the major part (and some again excepted, that are indifferent) are wholly bent for hawks and hounds, and carryed away many times with intemperate lust, gaming, and drinking. If they read a book at any time, *(si quid est interim otii a venatu, poculis, aleâ, scortis)* 'tis an English chronicle, S^r. Huon of Bordeaux, Amadis de Gaul, &c. a play-book, or some pamphlet of news, and that at such seasons only, when they cannot stir abroad, to drive away time: [d]their sole discourse is dogs, hawks, horses, and what news? If some one have been a traveller in Italy, or as far as the emperours court, wintered in Orleance, and can court his mistris in broken French, wear his clothes neatly in the newest fashion, sing some choyce outlandish tunes, discourse of lords, ladies, towns, palaces, and cities, he is compleat, and to be admired: [e]otherwise, he and they are much at one; no difference betwixt the master and the man, but worshipful titles:—wink, and choose betwixt

[a] Nemo est quem non Phœbus hic noster solo intuitu lubentiorem reddat. [b] Panegyr. [c] Virgil. [d] Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa Fortunâ. Juv. Sat. 8. [e] Quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui Indignus genere, et præclaro nomine tantum Insignis? Juv. Sat. 8.

him that sits down (clothes excepted) and him that holds the trencher behind him. Yet these men must be our patrons, our governours too sometimes, statesmen, magistrates, noble, great and wise by inheritance.

Mistake me not (I say again) *vos, o patricius sanguis!* you that are worthy senatours, gentlemen, I honour your names and persons, and, with all submissness, prostrate my self to your censure and service. There are amongst you, I do ingenuously confess, many well deserving patrons, and true patriots, of my knowledge, besides many hundreds which I never saw, no doubt, or heard of—pillars of our common-wealth, [a] whose worth, bounty, learning, forwardness, true zeal in religion, and good esteem of all schollars, ought to be consecrated to all posterity: but, of your rank, they are a deboshed, corrupt, covetous, illiterate crew again, no better than stocks, *merum pecus* (testor Deum, non mihi videri dignos ingenui hominis appellatione) barbarous Thracians, *(et quis ille Thrax qui hoc neget?)* a sordid, prophane, pernicious company, irreligious, impudent and stupid, (I know not what epithets to give them) enemies to learning, confounders of the church, and the ruine of a common-wealth. Patrons they are by right of inheritance, and put in trust freely to dispose of such livings to the churches good; but (hard task-masters they prove) they take away their straw, and compell them to make their number of brick: they commonly respect their own ends; commodity is the steer of all their actions; and him they present, in conclusion, as a man of greatest gifts, that will give most: no penny, [b] no *Paternoster*, as the saying is. *Nisi preces auro fulcias, amplius irritas: ut Cerberus offâ*, their attendants and officers must be bribed, fed, and made, as Cerberus is by a sop by him that goes to hell. It was an old saying, *omnia Romæ venalia;* 'tis a rag of popery, which will never be rooted out: there is no hope, no good to be done, without mony. A clark may offer himself, approve his [c] worth, learning, honesty, religion, zeal; they will commend him for it; but

> ——— [d] probitas laudatur, et alget.

If he be a man of extraordinary parts, they will flock afar off to hear him, as they did, in Apuleius, to see Psyche: *multi mortales confluebant ad videndum sæculi decus, speculum*

[a] I have often met with my self, and conferred with, divers worthy gentlemen in the countrey, no whit inferiour, if not to be preferred for divers kinde of learning to many of our academicks. [b] Ipse, licet, Musis venias comitatus, Homere, Si nihil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras. [c] Et legat historicos, auctores noverit omnes, Tamquam ungues digitosque suos. Juv. Sat. 7. [d] Juvenal.

gloriosum : laudatur ab omnibus ; spectatur ab omnibus ; nec quisquam, non rex, non regius, cupiens ejus nuptiarum, petitor accedit ; mirantur quidem divinam speciem omnes ; sed, ut simulacrum fabre politum, mirantur : many mortal men came to see faire Psyche, the glory of her age : they did admire her, commend her, desire her for her divine beauty, and gaze upon her, but, as on a picture : none would marry her, *quod indotata :* faire Psyche had no mony. [a]So they do by learning :

> ——— [b] didicit jam dives avarus
> Tantum admirari, tantum laudare, disertos,
> Ut pueri Junonis avem———

> Your rich men have now learn'd of latter dayes
> T' admire, commend, and come together
> To hear and see a worthy schollar speak,
> As children do a peacocks feather.

He shall have all the good words that may be given, "[c] a proper man, and 'tis pitty he hath no preferment," all good wishes ; but, inexorable, indurate as he is, he will not prefer him, though it be in his power, because he is *indotatus*, he hath no mony. Or, if he do give him entertainment, let him be never so well qualified, plead affinity, consanguinity, sufficiency, he shall serve seaven yeares, as Jacob did for Rachel, before he shall have it. [d] If he will enter at first, he must get in at that Simoniacal gate, come off soundly, and put in good security to perform all covenants ; else he will not deal with, or admit him. But, if some poor schollar, some parson chaff, will offer himself ; some trencher chaplain, that will take it to the halves, thirds, or accept of what he will give, he is welcome ; be conformable, preach as he will have him, he likes him before a million of others ; for the best is alwayes best cheap : and then (as Hierom said to Cromatius) *patellâ dignum operculum ;* such a patron, such a clark ; the cure is well supplyed, and all parties pleased. So that is still verified in our age, which [e] Chrysostome complained of in his time : *qui opulentiores sunt, in ordinem parasitorum cogunt eos, et ipsos tamquam canes ad mensas suas enutriunt, eorumque impudentes ventres iniquarum cœnarum reliquiis differciunt, iisdem pro arbitrio abutentes :* rich men keep these lecturers, and fawning parasites, like so many dogs, at their tables ; and, filling their hungry guts with the offals of

[a] Tu vero licet Orpheus sis, saxa sono testudinis emolliens, nisi plumbea eorum corda auri vel argenti malleo emollias, &c. Salisburiensis, Polycrat. lib. 5. c. 10. [b] Juven. Sat. 7. [c] Euge! bene! no need. Doun epod. l. 3. Dos ipsa scientia, sibique congiarium est. [d] Quatuor ad portas ecclesias itur ad omnes ; Sanguinis, aut Simonis, præsulis, atque Dei. Holcot. [e] Lib. contra Gentiles, de Babilâ martyre.

their meat, they abuse them at their pleasure, and make them say what they propose. [a] *As children do by a bird or a butterflye in a string, pull in and let him out as they list, do they by their trencher chaplains, prescribe, command their wits, let in and out, as to them it seems best.* If the patron be precise, so must his chaplain be; if he be papistical, his clark must be so too, or else be turned out. These are those clarks which serve the turn, whom they commonly entertain, and present to church-livings, whilst in the mean time we, that are university-men, like so many hide-bound calves in a pasture, tarry out our time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as too many candles, illuminate our selves alone, obscuring one anothers light, and are not discerned here at all; the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some countrey benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a faire light, and be seen over all. Whilst we lye waiting here (as those sick men did at the pool of [b] Bethesda, till the angel stirred the water) expecting a good hour, they step between, and beguile us of our preferment. I have not yet said. If, after long expectation, much expence, travel, earnest sute of ourselves and friends, we obtain a small benefice at last, our miserie begins afresh; we are suddainly encountered with the flesh, world, and divel, with a new onset: we change a quiet life for an ocean of troubles; we come to a ruinous house, which, before it be habitable, must be necessarily (to our great damage) repaired: we are compelled to sue for dilapidations, or else sued our selves; and, scarce yet setled, we are called upon for our predecessours arrerages: first fruits, tenths, subsidies, are instantly to be paid, benevolence, procurations, &c. and (which is most to be feared) we light upon a crackt title, as it befell Clenard of Brabant, for his rectory and charge of his Beginæ: he was no sooner inducted, but instantly sued, *cœpimusque* ([c] saith he) *strenue litigare, et implacabili bello confligere:* at length, after ten yeares sute, (as long as Troyes siege) when he had tyred himself, and spent his mony, he was fain to leave all for quietness sake, and give it up to his adversary. Or else we are insulted over, and trampled on by domineering officers, fleeced by those greedy harpyes to get more fees, we stand in feare of some precedent lapse; we fall amongst refractory, seditious sectaries, peevish puritans, perverse papists, a lascivious rout of atheistical Epicures, that will not be

[a] Præscribunt, imperant, in ordinem cogunt; ingenium nostrum, prout ipsis videbitur, astringunt et relaxant, ut papilionem pueri aut bruchum filo demittunt, aut attrahunt, nos a labidine suâ pendere æquum censentes. Heinsius. [b] John 5. [c] Epist. l. 2. Jam affectus in locum demortui . . . protinus exortus est adversarius, &c. post multos labores, sumtus, &c.

reformed, or some litigious people, (those wild beasts of Ephesus must be fought with) that will not pay their dues without much repining, or compelled by long sute; *laïci clericis oppido infesti*, an old axiome; all they think well gotten that is had from the church; and, by such uncivil harsh dealings, they make their poor minister weary of his place, if not his life: and put case they be quiet honest men, make the best of it, as often it falls out, from a polite and terse academick, he must turn rustick, rude, melancholize alone, learn to forget, or else, as many do, become maltsters, graziers, chapmen, &c. (now banished from the academy, all commerce of the Muses, and confined to a countrey village, as Ovid was from Rome to Pontus) and dayly converse with a company of ideots and clowns.

Nos interim quod attinet (nec enim immunes ab hac noxâ sumus) idem reatus manet; idem nobis, et si non multo gravius, crimen objici potest: nostrâ enim culpâ fit, nostrâ incuriâ, nostrâ avaritiâ, quod tam frequentes, fœdæque fiant in ecclesiâ nundinationes, (templum est venale, deusque) *tot sordes invehantur, tanta grassetur impietas, tanta nequitia, tam insanus miserarum Euripus, et turbarum æstuarium, nostro, inquam, omnium (academicorum imprimis) vitio fit. Quod tot resp. malis afficiatur, a nobis seminarium; ultro malum hoc accersimus, et quâvis contumeliâ, quâvis interim miseriâ digni, qui pro virili non occurrimus. Quid enim fieri posse speramus, quum tot indies sine delectu pauperes alumni, terræ filii, et cujuscunque ordinis homunciones, ad gradus certatim admittantur? qui si definitionem, distinctionemque unam aut alteram memoriter edidicerint, et pro more tot annos in dialectica posuerint, non refert quo profectu, quales demum sint, idiotæ, nugatores, otiatores, aleatores, computores, indigni, libidinis voluptatumque administri,*

Sponsi Penelopes, nebulones, Alcinoique,

modo tot annos in academiâ insumpserint, et se pro togatis venditârint; lucri caussâ, et amicorum intercessu præsentantur: addo etiam, et magnificis nonnunquam elogiis morum et scientiæ; et, jam valedicturi, testimonialibus hisce literis, amplissime conscriptis in eorum gratiam, honorantur, ab iis, qui fidei suæ et existimationis jacturam proculdubio faciunt. Doctores enim et professores *(quod ait* [*] *ille)* id unum curant, ut ex professionibus frequentibus, et tumultuariis potius quam legitimis, commoda sua promove-

[*] Jun. Acad. cap. 6.

ant, et ex dispendio publico suum faciant incrementum. *Id solum in votis habent annui plerumque magistratus, ut ab incipientium numero* [a] *pecunias emungant; nec multum interest, qui sint, literatores an literati, modo pingues, nitidi, ad aspectum speciosi, et (quod verbo dicam) pecuniosi sint.* [b] *Philosophastri licentiantur in artibus, artem qui non habent;* [c] Eosque sapientes esse jubent, qui nullâ præditi sunt sapientiâ, et nihil ad gradum, præterquam velle, adferunt. *Theologastri, (solvant modo) satis superque docti, per omnes honorum gradus evehuntur et ascendunt. Atque hinc fit quod tam viles scurræ, tot passim idiotæ, literarum crepusculo positi, larvæ pastorum, circumforanei, vagi, bardi, fungi, crassi, asini, merum pecus, in sacrosanctos theologiæ aditus illotis pedibus irrumpant, præter inverecundam frontem adferentes nihil, vulgares quasdam quisquilias, et scholarium quædam mugamenta, indigna quæ vel recipiantur in triviis. Hoc illud indignum genus hominum et famelicum, indigum, vagum, ventris mancipium, ad stivam potius relegandum, ad haras aptius quam ad aras, quod divinas hasce literas turpiter prostituit—hi sunt qui pulpita complent, in ædes nobilium irrepunt, et, quum reliquis vitæ destituantur subsidiis, ob corporis et animi egestatem, aliarum in repub. partium minime capaces sint, ad sacram hanc anchoram confugiunt, sacerdotium quovis modo captantes, non ex sinceritate, (quod* [d] *Paulus ait)* sed cauponantes verbum Dei. *Ne quis interim viris bonis detractum quid putet, quos habet ecclesia Anglicana quamplurimos, egregie doctos, illustres, intactæ famæ homines, et plures forsan quam quævis Europæ provincia; ne quis a florentissimis academiis, quæ viros undequaque doctissimos, omni virtutum genere suspiciendos, abunde producunt; et multo plures utraque habitura, multo splendidior futura, si non hæ sordes splendidum lumen ejus obfuscarent, obstaret corruptio, et cauponantes quædam Harpyiæ, proletariique, bonum hoc nobis non inviderent. Nemo enim tam cæcâ mente, qui non hoc ipsum videat; nemo tam stolido ingenio, qui non intelligat; tam pertinaci judicio, qui non agnoscat, ab his idiotis circumforaneis sacram pollui theologiam, ac cœlestes Musas, quasi profanum quiddam, prostitui.* Viles animæ et effrontes *(sic enim Lutherus* [e] *alicubi vocat)* lucelli caussâ, ut muscæ ad mulctra, ad nobilium et heroum mensas advolant: in spem sacerdotii, *cujuslibet honoris, officii, in quamvis aulam, urbem se ingerunt, ad quodvis se ministerium componunt:*

[a] Accipiamus pecuniam, demittamus asinum, ut apud Patavinos Italos. [b] Hos non ita pridem perstrinxi, in Philosophastro, Comœdiâ Latinâ, in Ædæ Christi Oxon. publice-habitâ, Anno 1617. Feb. 16. [c] Sat. Menip. [d] 2 Cor. 2. 17. [e] Comment. in Gal.

——— Ut nervis alienis mobile lignum
Ducitur,

[a]offam sequentes, psittacorum more, in prædæ spem quidvis effutiunt; *obsecundantes parasiti* ([b]Erasmus *ait)* quidvis docent, dicunt, scribunt, suadent, et contra conscientiam probant, non ut salutarem reddant gregem, sed ut magnificam sibi parent fortunam. [c]Opiniones quasvis et decreta contra verbum Dei astruunt, ne offendant patronum, sed ut retineant favorem procerum et populi plausum, sibique ipsis opes accumulent. *Eo etenim plerumque animo ad theologiam accedunt, non ut rem divinam, sed ut suam, faciant; non ad ecclesiæ bonum promovendum, sed expilandum; quærentes (quod Paulus ait)* non quæ Jesu Christi, sed quæ sua, *non domini thesaurum, sed ut sibi, suisque thesaurizent. Nec tantum iis, qui vilioris fortunæ, et abjectæ sortis sunt, hoc in usu est; sed et medios, summos, elatos, ne dicam episcopos, hoc malum invasit.*

[d]Dicite, pontifices, in sacris quid facit aurum?

[e]summos sæpe viros transversos agit avaritia; *et qui reliquis morum probitate præluceret, hi facem præferunt ad Simoniam, et in corruptionis hunc scopulum impingentes, non tondent pecus, sed deglubunt, et, quocunque se conferunt, expilant, exhauriunt, abraduut, magnum famæ suæ, si non animæ, naufragium facientes; ut non ab infimis ad summos, sed a summis ad infimos, malum promanâsse videatur, et illud verum sit, quod ille olim lusit,*

Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest:

Simoniacus enim *(quod cum* Leone *dicam)* gratiam non accipit; si non accipit, non habet; et si non habet, nec gratus potest esse, nec gratis dare: *tantum enim absunt istorum nonnulli, quid ad clavum sedent, a promovendo reliquos, ut penitus impediant, probe sibi conscii, quibus artibus illic pervenerint:* [f]nam qui ob literas emersisse illos credat, desipit; qui vero ingenii, eruditionis, experientiæ, probitatis, pietatis, et Musarum id esse pretium putat *(quod olim re verâ fuit, hodie promittitur)* planissime insanit. *Utcunque vel undecunque malum hoc originem ducat, (non ultra quæram) ex his promordiis cœpit vitiorum colluvies; omnis calamitas, omne miseriarum agmen, in ecclesiam invehitur. Hinc tam frequens Simonia; hinc orlæ querelæ, fraudes, imposturæ; ab hoc fonte se derivárunt omnes nequitiæ,—ne quid obiter dicam de ambitione, adulatione plusquam aulicâ ne tristi domicœnio laborent, de luxu, de fœdo nonnunquam vitæ exemplo, quo nonnullos offendunt, de compotatione Sybaritică, &c. Hinc ille squalor academicus,*

[a] Hieronim. [b] Ecclesiast. [c] Luth. in Gal. [d] Pers. Sat. 2. [e] Sallust. [f] Sat. Menip.

tristes hac tempestate Camœnæ, *quum quivis homunculus, artium ignarus, his artibus assurgat, hunc in modum promoveatur et ditescat, ambitiosis appellationibus insignis, et multis dignitatibus augustus, vulgi oculos perstringat, bene se habeat, et grandia gradiens majestatem quamdam ac amplitudinem præ se ferens, miramque solicitudinem, barbâ reverendus, togâ nitidus, purpura coruscus, supellectilis splendore et famulorum numero maxime conspicuus.* Quales statuæ, *(quod ait* [a]*ille)* quæ sacris in ædibus columnis imponuntur, velut oneri cedentes videntur, ac si insudarent, quum re verâ sensu sint carentes, et nihil saxeam adjuvent firmitatem; *Atlantes videri volunt, quum sint statuæ lapideæ, umbratiles re verâ homunciones, fungi forsan et bardi, nihil a saxo differentes; quum interim docti viri, et vitæ sanctioris ornamentis prædili, qui æstum diei sustinent, his iniquâ sorte serviant, minimo forsan salario contenti, puris nominibus nuncupati, humiles, obscuri; multoque digniores licet, egentes, inhonorati, vitam privam privatam agant; tenuique sepulti sacerdotio, vel in collegiis suis in æternum incarcerati, inglorie delitescant: sed nolo diutius hanc movere sentinam. Hinc illæ lacrymæ, lugubris Musarum habitus;* [b] *hinc ipsa religio (quod cum Secellio dicam)* in ludibrium et contemtum adducitur, *abjectum sacerdotium, (atque hæc ubi fiunt, ausim dicere, et putidum* [c]*putidi dicterium de clero usurpare)* putidum vulgus, *inops, rude, sordidum, melancholicum, miserum, despicabile, contemnendum.*

MEMB. IV. SUBSECT. I.

Non-necessary, remote, outward, adventitious, or accidentall causes: as first from the Nurse.

OF those remote, outward, ambient, *necessary* causes, I have sufficiently discoursed in the precedent member. The *non-necessary* follow; of which (saith [d]Fuchsius) no art can be made, by reason of their uncertainty, casualty, and multitude; so called *not necessary*, because (according to [e]Fernelius) *they may be avoided, and used without necessity.* Many of these accidentall causes which I shall entreat of here, might have well been reduced to the former, because they cannot be avoided, but fatally happen to us, though accidentally, and unawares, at some time or other; the rest are con-

[a] Budæus, de Asse, lib. 5. [b] Lib. de rep. Gallorum. [c] Campian. [d] Proœm. lib. 2. Nulla ars constitui potest. [e] Lib. 1. c. 19 de morborum causis. Quæ declinare licet, aut nullâ necessitate utimur.

tingent and evitable, and more properly inserted in this rank of causes. To reckon up all, is a thing unpossible; of some therefore most remarkable of these contingent causes which produce melancholy, I will briefly speak, and in their order.

From a childs nativity, the first ill accident that can likely befall him in this kinde, is a bad nurse, by whose meanes alone he may be tainted with this [a]malady from his cradle. Aulus Gellius *(l. 12. c. 1.)* brings in Phavorinus, that eloquent philosopher, proving this at large, [b] *that there is the same vertue and property in the milk as in the seed, and not in men alone, but in all other creatures. He gives instance in a kid and lamb: if either of them suck of the others milk, the lamb of the goats, or the kid of the ewes, the wooll of the one will be hard, and the hair of the other soft.* Giraldus Cambrensis *(Itinerar. Cambriæ, l. 1. c. 2)* confirms this by a notable example, which happened in his time. A sow-pig by chance sucked a brach, and, when she was grown, [c] *would miraculously hunt all manner of deer, and that as well, or rather better than any ordinary hound.* His conclusion is, [d] *that men and beasts participate of her nature and conditions, by whose milk they are fed.* Phavorinus urgeth it farther, and demonstrates it more evidently, that if a nurse be [e] *mis-shapen, unchaste, unhonest, impudent, drunk,* [f] *cruel,* or the like, the child that sucks upon her breast will be so too: all other affections of the minde, and diseases, are almost ingraffed, as it were, and imprinted in the temperature of the infant, by the nurses milk, as pox, leprosie, melancholy, &c. Cato, for some such reason, would make his servants children suck upon his wives breast, because, by that meanes, they would love him and his the better, and in all likelihood agree with them. A more evident example that the mindes are altered by milk, cannot be given, than that of [g]Dion, which he relates of Caligula's cruelty; it could neither be imputed to father nor mother, but to his cruel nurse alone, that anointed her paps with blood still when he sucked, which made him such a murderer, and to express her cruelty to an hair; and that of Tiberius, who was a common drunkard, because his nurse was such a one.

[a] Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu. Hor. [b] Sicut valet ad fingendas corporis atque animi similitudines vis et natura seminis, sic quoque lactis proprietas. Neque id in hominibus solum, sed in pecudibus, animadversum: nam si ovium lacte hœdi, aut caprarum agni alerentur, constat fieri in his lanam duriorem, in illis capillum gigni teneriorem. [c] Adulta in ferarum persequutione ad miraculum usque sagax. [d] Tam animal quodlibet, quam homo, ab illâ, cujus lacte nutritur, naturam contrahit. [e] Improba, informis, impudica, temulenta nutrix, &c. quoniam in moribus efformandis magnam sæpe partem ingenium altricis et natura lactis tenet. [f] Hyrcanæque admôrunt ubera tigres, Virg. [g] Lib. 2. de Cæsaribus.

Et, si delira fuerit, ([a] one observes) *infantulum delirum faciet;* if she be a fool or dolt, the child she nurseth will take after her, or otherwise be misaffected; which Franciscus Barbarus *(l. 2. c. ult. de re uxoriâ)* proves at full, and Ant. Guivarra *(lib. 2. de Marco Aurelio)*: the child will surely participate. For bodily sickness, there is no doubt to be made. Titus, Vespasian's son, was therefore sickly, because the nurse was so (Lampridius): and, if we may beleeve physitians, many times children catch the pox from a bad nurse, (Botaldus *cap.* 61. *de lue Vener.)* Besides evil attendance, negligence, and many gross inconveniences, which are incident to nurses, much danger may so come to the child. [b] For these causes Aristotle *(Polit. lib. 7. c. 17)*, Phavorinus, and Marcus Aurelius, would not have a child put to nurse at all, but every mother to bring up her own, of what condition soever she be; for a sound and able mother to put out her child to nurse, *is naturæ intemperies* (so [c] Guasto calls it): 'tis fit therefore she should be nurse her self; the mother will be more careful, loving, and attendant, than any servile woman, or such hired creatures; this all the world acknowledgeth: *convenientissimum est* (as Rod. a Castro, *de nat. mulierum, lib. 4. c. 12*, in many words confesseth) *matrem ipsam lactare infantem*, (who denyes that it should be so?) and which some women most curiously observe; amongst the rest, [d] that queen of France, a Spaniard by birth, that was so precise and zealous in this behalf, that when, in her absence, a strange nurse had suckled her child, she was never quiet till she had made the infant vomit it up again. But she was too zealous. If it be so, as many times it is, they must be put forth, the mother be not fit or well able to be a nurse, I would then advise such mothers, (as [e] Plutarch doth in his book *de liberis educandis*, and [f] S'. Hierom, *lib. 2. epist. 27. Lætæ de institut. fil.* Maguinus, *part. 2. Reg. sanit. cap. 7*, and the said Rodericus) that they make choyce of a sound woman, of a good complexion, honest, free from bodily diseases, if it be possible, and all passions and perturbations of the minde, as sorrow, feare, griefe, [g] folly, melancholy: for such passions corrupt the milk, and alter the temperature of the child, which, now being [h] *udum et molle lutum*, is easily seasoned and perverted. And if such a nurse may be found out, that will be diligent and careful withall, let Phavorinus and M. Aurelius plead how they can against it, I had rather accept of her in some cases than the mother her

[a] Beda, c. 27. l. 1. Eccles. hist. [b] Ne insitivo lactis alimento degeneret corpus, et animus corrumpatur. [c] Lib. 8. de civ. consey. [d] Stephanus.
[e] To. 2. Nutrices non quasvis, sed maxime probas, deligamus. [f] Nutrix non sit lasciva aut tumulenta. Hier. [g] Prohibendum ne stolida lacte. [h] Pirr.

self: and (which Bonacialus the physitian, Nic. Biesius the politician, *lib.* 4. *de repub. cap.* 8. approves) [a] *some nurses are much to be preferred to some mothers.* For why may not the mother be naught, a peevish drunken flurt, a waspish cholerick slut, a crazed peece, a fool, (as many mothers are) unsound, as soon as the nurse? There is more choyce of nurses than mothers; and therefore, except the mother be most vertuous, staid, a woman of excellent good parts, and of a sound complexion, I would have all children, in such cases, committed to discreet strangers. And 'tis the only way (as by marriage they are engrafted to other families) to alter the breed, or, if any thing be amiss in the mother, (as Lodovicus Mercatus contends, *Tom.* 2. *lib. de morb. hæred.*) to prevent diseases and future maladies, to correct and qualifie the childs ill-disposed temperature, which he had from his parents. This is an excellent remedy, if good choyce be made of such a nurse.

SUBSECT. II.

Education a Cause of Melancholy.

EDUCATION, of these accidentall causes of melancholy, may justly challenge the next place; for, if a man escape a bad nurse, he may be undone by evil bringing up. [b] Jason Pratensis puts this education for a principall cause: bad parents, step-mothers, tutours, masters, teachers, too rigorous, too severe, too remiss or indulgent on the other side, are often fountains and furtherers of this disease. Parents, and such as have the tuition and oversight of children, offend many times in that they are too stern, alway threatning, chiding, brawling, whipping, or striking; by meanes of which, their poor children are disheartned and cowed, that they never after have any courage, a merry hour in their lives, or take pleasure in any thing. There is a great moderation to be had in such things, as matters of so great moment to the making or marring of a child. Some fright their children with beggers, bugbears, and hobgoblins, if they cry, or be otherwayes unruly: but they are much to blame in it, many times, saith Lavater *(de spectris, part.* 1. *cap.* 5) *: ex metu in morbos graves incidunt et noctu dormientes clamant;* for feare they fall into many diseases, and crye out in their sleep, and are much the worse for it all their lives: these things ought not at all, or to be sparingly

[a] Nutrices interdum matribus sunt meliores. [b] Lib. de morbis capitis, cap. de mania. Haud postrema causa suppeditatur educatio, inter has mentis alienationis causas.—Injusta noverca.

done, and upon just occasion. Tyrannical, impatient, hair-brain'd school-masters, *aridi magistri*, so [a] Fabius terms them, *Ajaces flagelliferi*, are, in this kinde, as bad as hangmen and executioners: they make many children endure a martyrdome all the while they are at school: with bad dyet if they board in their houses, too much severity and ill usage, they quite pervert their temperature of body and minde—still chiding, rayling, frowning, lashing, tasking, keeping, that they are *fracti animis*, moped many times, weary of their lives, [b] *nimiâ severitate deficiunt et desperant*, and think no slavery in the world (as once I did my self) like to that of a grammar schollar. *Præceptorum ineptiis discrutiantur ingenia puerorum*, saith Erasmus: they tremble at his voyce, looks, coming in. S^t. Austin, in the first book of his *confess.* and 4. *ca.* calls this schooling *meticulosam necessitatem*, and elsewhere a martyrdome, and confesseth of himself, how cruelly he was tortured in minde for learning Greek; *nulla verba noveram: et sævis terroribus et pœnis, ut nôssem, instabatur mihi vehementer:* I knew nothing, and with cruel terrours and punishment I was dayly compel'd. [c] Beza complains in like case of a rigorous schoolmaster in Paris, that made him, by his continual thunder and threats, once in a minde to drown himself, had he not met by the way with an uncle of his that vindicated him from that miserie for the time, by taking him to his house. Trincavellius *(lib. 1. consil. 16)* had a patient nineteen yeares of age, extreamly melancholy, *ob nimium studium Tarvitii et præceptoris minas*, by reason of overmuch study, and his [d] tutours threats. Many masters are hard hearted, and bitter to their servants, and by that meanes do so deject, with terrible speeches and hard usage so crucifie them, that they become desperate, and can never be recalled.

Others again, in that opposite extream, do as great harm by their too much remisness; they give them no bringing up, no calling to busie themselves about, or to live in, teach them no trade, or set them in any good course; by meanes of which, their servants, children, schollars, are carryed away with that stream of drunkenness, idleness, gaming, and many such irregular courses, that in the end they rue it, curse their parents, and mischief themselves. Too much indulgence causeth the like, [e] *inepta patris lenitas et facilitas prava*, when as, Micio-like, with too much liberty and too great allowance, they feed their childrens humours, let them revel, wench, ryot, swagger,

[a] Lib. 2. cap. 4. [b] Idem. Et, quod maxime nocet, dum in teneris ita timent, nihil conantur. [c] Præfat. ad Testam. [d] Plus mentis pædagogico supercilio abstulit, quam unquam præceptis suis sapientiæ instillavit. [e] Ter. Adel. 3. 4.

and do what they will themselves, and then punish them with a noyse of musicians.

> [a] Obsonet, potet, oleat unguenta de meo.
> Amat? dabitur a me argentum, dum erit commodum.
> Fores effregit? restituentur: discidit
> Vestem? resarcietur——Faciat quod lubet,
> Sumat, consumat, perdat: decretum est pati.

But, as Demea told him, *tu illum corrumpi sinis*, your lenity will be his undoing; *prævidere videor jam diem illum, quum hic egens profugiet aliquo militatum*; I foresee his ruine. So parents often err; many fond mothers, especially, dote so much upon their children, like [b] Æsop's ape, till in the end they crush them to death. *Corporum nutrices, animarum novercæ*, pampering up their bodies to the undoing of their soules, they will not let them be [c] corrected or controled, but still soothed up in every thing they do, that, in conclusion, *they bring sorrow, shame, heaviness, to their parents, (Ecclus. cap. 30. 8, 9) become wanton, stubborn, wilful, and disobedient; rude, untaught, head-strong, incorrigible, and graceless. They love them so foolishly,* (saith [d] Cardan) *that they rather seem to hate them, bringing them not up to vertue, but injury, not to learning, but to ryot, not to sober life and conversation, but to all pleasure and licentious behaviour.* Who is he of so little experience that knows not this of Fabius to be true? [e] *Education is another nature, altering the minde and will, and I would to God* (saith he) *we our selves did not spoyl our childrens manners, by our over much cockering and nice education, and weaken the strength of their bodies and mindes. That causeth custome, custome nature*, &c. For these causes, Plutarch (in his book *de lib. educ.*) and Hierom, *(epist. lib.* 1. *epist.* 17. to *Læta de institut. filiæ)* gives a most especiall charge to all parents, and many good cautions about bringing up of children, that they be not committed to undiscreet, passionate, Bedlam tutours, light, giddy-headed, or covetous persons, and spare for no costs, that they may be well nurtured and taught; it being a matter of so great consequence. For, such parents as do otherwise, Plutarch esteems like them [f] *that are more careful*

[a] Ter. Adel. Ac 1. sc. 2. [b] Camerarius, cm. 77 cent. 2. hath elegantly expressed it in an emblème: perdit amando, &c. [c] Prov. 13. 24. He that spareth the rod hates his son. [d] Lib. 2 de consol. Tam stulte pueros diligimus, ut odisse potius videamur: illos non ad virtutem sed ad injuriam, non ad eruditionem sed ad luxum, non ad vitam sed voluptatem educantes. [e] Lib. 1. c. 3. Educatio altera natura; alterat animos et voluntatem: atque utinam (inquit) liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus, quum infantiam statim deliciis solvimus; mollior ista educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes, et mentis et corporis, frangit: fit ex his consuetudo, inde natura. [f] Perinde agit ac siquis de calceo sit solicitus, pedem nihil curet. Juven. Nil patri minus est quam filius.

of their shooes than of their feet, that rate their wealth above their children. And he, (saith [a] Cardan) *that leaves his son to a covetous schoolmaster to be informed, or to a close abbē to fast and learn wisdome together, doth no other, than that he be a learned fool, or a sickly wise man.*

SUBSECT. III.

Terrours and Affrights, Causes of Melancholy.

TULLIE (in the fourth of his Tusculans) distinguisheth these terrours which arise from the apprehensions of some terrible object heard or seen, from other feares; and so doth Patritius *(lib. 5. Tit. 4. de regis institut.)* Of all feares they are most pernicious and violent, and so suddainly alter the whole temperature of the body, move the soule and spirits, strike such a deep impression, that the parties can never be recovered, causing more grievous and fiercer melancholy, (as Felix Plater, *c. 3. de mentis alienat.* [b] speaks out of his experience) than any inward cause whatsoever; *and imprints it self so forcibly in the spirits, brain, humours, that, if all the mass of blood were let out of the body, it could hardly be extracted. This horrible kinde of melancholy* (for so he terms it) *had been often brought before him, and troubles and affrights commonly men and women, yong and old, of all sorts.* [c] Hercules de Saxoniâ calls this kinde of melancholy *(ab agitatione spirituum)* by a peculiar name; it comes from the agitation, motion, contraction, dilatation of spirits, not from any distemperature of humours, and produceth strong effects. This terrour is most usually caused (as [d] Plutarch will have) *from some imminent danger, when a terrible object is at hand*, heard, seen, or conceived, [e] *truly appearing, or in a* [f] *dream:* and many times, the more suddain the accident, it is the more violent.

> [g] Stat terror animis, et cor attonitum salit,
> Pavidumque trepidis palpitat venis jecur.

[a] Lib. 2. de sapient. Qui avaris pædagogis pueros alendos dant, vel clausos in cœnobiis jejunare simul et sapere, nihil aliud agunt, nisi ut sint vel non sine stultitiâ eruditi, vel non integrâ vitâ sapientes. [b] Terror et metus, maxime ex improviso accidentes, ita animum commovent, ut spiritus nunquam recuperent: gravioremque melancholiam terror facit, quam quæ ab internâ causâ fit. Impressio tam fortis in spiritibus humoribusque cerebri, ut, extractâ totâ sanguineâ massâ, ægre exprimatur: et hæc horrenda species melancholiæ frequenter oblata mihi, nimes exercens, viros, juvenes, senes. [c] Tract. de melan. cap. 7. et 8. Non ab intemperie, sed agitatione, dilatatione, contractione, motu spirituum. [d] Lib. de fort. et virtut. Alex. Præsertim incunte periculo, ubi res prope adsunt terribiles. [e] Fit a visione horrendâ, revera apparente, vel per insomnia. Platerus. [f] A painters wife in Basil, 1600, somniavit filium belli mortuum; inde melancholica consoleri noluit. [g] Senec. Herc. Œt.

> Their soul's affright, their heart amazed quakes,
> The trembling liver pants i' th' veins, and akes.

Artemidorus the grammarian lost his wits by the unexpected sight of a crocodile *(Laurentius, 7. de melan.)* [a]The massacre at Lions, in 1572, in the raign of Charles the ninth, was so terrible and fearful, that many ran mad, some dyed, great-bellyed women were brought to bed before their time, generally all affrighted and aghast. Many lose their wits [b]*by the suddain sight of some spectrum or divel, a thing very common in all ages,* (saith Lavater *part.* 1 *cap.* 9) as Orestes did at the sight of the Furies, which appeared to him in black (as [c]Pausanias records). The Greeks call them μορμολυκεια which so terrifie their soules. Or if they be but affrighted by some counterfeit divels in jest,

> (—— [d]ut pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
> In tenebris metuunt ——————

as children in the dark conceive bobgoblins, and are sore afraid) they are the worse for it all their lives: some, by suddain fires, earthquakes, inundations, or any such dismal objects. Themison the physitian fell into an hydrophobia by seeing one sick of that disease (Dioscorides *l.* 6. *c.* 33): or by the sight of a monster, a carkass, they are disquieted many moneths following, and cannot endure the room where a coarse hath been, for a world would not be alone with a dead man, or lye in that bed many yeares after, in which a man hath dyed. At [e]Basil, a many little children, in the spring time, went to gather flowers in a meddow at the towns end, where a malefactor hung in gibbets: all gazing at it, one by chance flung a stone, and made it stir; by which accident the children affrighted ran away: one, slower than the rest, looking back, and seeing the stirred carkass wag towards her, cryed out it came after, and was so terribly affrighted, that for many dayes she could not rest, eat, or sleep; she could not be pacified, but melancholy dyed. [f]In the same town, another child, beyond the Rhine, saw a grave opened, and, upon the sight of a carkass, was so troubled in minde, that she could not be comforted, but a little after departed, and was buryed by it (Platerus *observat. l.* 1). A gentlewoman of the same city saw a fat hog cut up, when the

[a]Quarta pars comment. de Statu religionis in Galliâ sub Carolo 9, 1572. [b]Ex occursu dæmonum aliqui furore corripiuntur, ut experientiâ notum est. [c]Lib. 8. in Arcad. [d]Lucret. [e]Puellæ extra urbem in prato concurrentes, &c. mœsta et melancholica domum rediit; per dies aliquot vexata, dum mortua est. Plater. [f]Altera trans-Rhenana, ingressa sepulcrum recens apertum, vidit cadaver, et domum subito reversa putavit eam vocare: post paucos dies obiit, proximo sepulcro collocata. Altera, patibulum sero prætereiens, metuebat ne urbe exclusa illic pernoctaret; unde melancholica facta, per multos annos laboravit. Platerus.

intrals were opened, and a noysome savour offended her nose, she much misliked, and would not longer abide: a physitian, in presence, told her, as that hog, so was she, full of filthy excrements, and aggravated the matter by some other loathsome instances, in so much, this nice gentlewoman apprehended it so deeply, that she fell forthwith a vomiting, was so mightily distempered in minde and body, that, with all his art and perswasions, for some moneths after, he could not restore her to her self again; she could not forget it, or remove the object out of her sight *(Idem)*. Many cannot endure to see a wound opened, but they are offended; a man executed, or labour of any fearful disease, as possession, apoplexies, one bewitched: [a]or, if they read by chance of some terrible thing, the symptomes alone of such a disease, or that which they dislike, they are instantly troubled in minde, aghast, ready to apply it to themselves; they are as much disquieted, as if they had seen it, or were so affected themselves. *Hecatas sibi videntur somniare;* they dream and continually think of it. As lamentable effects are caused by such terrible objects heard, read, or seen: *auditus maximos motus in corpore facit,* as [b]Plutarch holds; no sense makes greater alteration of body and minde: suddain speech sometimes, unexpected news, be they good or bad, *prævisa minus oratio,* will move as much, *animum obruere, et de sede suâ dejicere,* as a [c]philosopher observes) will take away our sleep, and appetite, disturb and quite overturn us. Let them bear witness, that have heard those tragicall alarums, out-cryes, hideous noyses, which are many times suddainly heard in the dead of the night by irruption of enemies and accidental fires, &c. those [d]panick feares, which often drive men out of their wits, bereave them of sense, understanding and all, some for a time, some for their whole lives; they never recover it. The [e]Midianites were so affrighted by Gideon's souldiers, they breaking but every one a pitcher; and [f]Hannibal's army, by such a panick feare, was discomfited at the walls of Rome. Augusta Livia, hearing a few tragicall verses recited out of Virgil, *(Tu Marcellus eris, &c.)* fell down dead in a swoun. Edinus king of Denmark, by a suddain sound which he heard, [g]*was turned into fury, with all his men* (Cranzius, *l.* 5. *Dan. hist. et* Alexander ab Alexandro *l.* 3. *c.* 5). Amatus Lusitanus had a patient, that, by reason of bad tidings, became *epilepticus (cen.* 2. *cura* 90). Cardan *(subtil. l.* 18.) saw one that lost his wits by mistaking of

[a] Subitus occursus, inopinata lectio. [b] Lib. de auditione. [c] Theod. Prodromus lib. 7. Amorum. [d] Effuso cernens fugientes agmine turmas, Quis mea nunc inflat cornua? Faunus ait. Alciat. embl. 122. [e] Jud. 7. 19. [f] Plutarchus, vitâ ejus. [g] In furorem cum sociis versus.

an echo. If one sense alone can cause such violent commotions of the minde, what may we think, when hearing, sight, and those other senses, are all troubled at once, as by some earthquakes, thunder, lightning, tempests, &c? At Bologne in Italy, *anno* 1504, there was such a fearful earthquake about eleven a clock in the night, (as [a]Beroaldus, in his book *de terræ motu*, hath commended to posterity) that all the city trembled, the people thought the world was at an end, *actum de mortalibus;* such a fearful noyse it made, such a detestable smell, the inhabitants were infinitely affrighted, and some ran mad. *Audi rem atrocem, et annalibus memorandam* (mine author adds): hear a strange story, and worthy to be chronicled: I had a servant at the same time, called Fulco Argelanus, a bold and proper man, so grievously terrified with it, that he [b]was first melancholy, after doted, at last mad, and made away himself. At [c]Fuscinum in Japona, *there was such an earthquake and darkness on a suddain, that many men were offended with headake, many overwhelmed with sorrow and melancholy. At Meacum, whole streets and goodly places were overturned at the same time; and there was such an hideous noyse withal, like thunder, and filthy smell, that their hair stared for feare, and their hearts quaked; men and beasts were incredibly terrified. In Sacai, another city, the same earthquake was so terrible unto them, that many were bereft of their senses; and others, by that horrible spectacle, so much amazed, that they knew not what they did.* Blasius, a Christian, the reporter of the news, was so affrighted for his part, that, though it were two moneths after, he was scarce his own man, neither could he drive the remembrance of it out of his minde. Many times, some yeares following they will tremble afresh at the [d]remembrance or conceit of such a terrible object; even all their lives long, if mention be made of it. Cornelius Agrippa relates (out of Gulielmus Parisiensis) a story of one, that, after a distasteful purge which a physitian had prescribed unto him, was so much moved, [e]*that, at the very sight of physick, he would be distempered:* though he never so much as smelled to it, the box of physick would long after give him a purge;

[a] Subitaneus terræ motus. [b] Cœpit inde desipere cum dispendio sanitatis, inde adeo dementari, ut sibi ipsi mortem inferret. [c] Historica relatio de rebus Japonicis, Tract. 2. de legat. regis Chingnais, a Lodovico Frois Jesuita, A. 1596. Fuscini derepente tanta aëris caligo et terræ motus, ut multi capite dolerent, plurimis cor mœrore et melancholiâ obrueretur. Tantum fremitum edebat, ut tonitru fragorem imitari videretur, tantamque, &c. In urbe Sacai tam horrificus fuit, ut homines vix sui compotes essent, a sensibus abalienati, mœrore oppressi tam horrendo spectaculo, &c. [d] Quum subit illius tristissima noctis imago. [e] Qui solo aspectu medicinæ moverentur ad purgandum.

nay the very remembrance of it did effect it; [a]*like travellers and seamen,* (saith Plutarch) *that, when they have been sanded, or dashed on a rock, for ever after feare not that mischance only, but all such dangers whatsoever.*

SUBSECT. IV.

Scoffes, Calumnies, bitter Jests, how they cause Melancholy.

IT is an old saying, [b]*a blow with a word strikes deeper than a blow with a sword:* and many men are as much galled with a calumny, [c]a scurrile, and bitter jest, a libell, a pasquil, satyre, apologue, epigram, stage-playes, or the like, as with any misfortune whatsoever. Princes and potentates, that are otherwise happy, and have all at command, secure and free, *quibus potentia sceleris impunitatem fecit,* are grievously vexed with these pasquilling libells and satyres: they feare a raying [d]Aretine, more than an enemy in the field; which made most princes of his time (as some relate) *allow him a liberal pension, that he should not tax them in his satyres.* The gods had their Momus, Homer his Zoïlus, Achilles his Thersites, Philip his Demades: the Cæsars themselves in Rome were commonly taunted. There was never wanting a Petronius, a Lucian, in those times; nor will be a Rabelais, an Euphormio, a Boccalinus, in ours. Adrian the sixth, pope, [e]was so highly offended, and grievously vexed with pasquils at Rome, he gave command that statue should be demolished and burned, the ashes flung into the river Tiber, and had done it forthwith, had not Ludovicus Suessanus, a facete companion, disswaded him to the contrary, by telling him, that Pasquils ashes would turn to frogs in the bottom of the river, and croak worse and louder than before. *Genus irritabile vatum;* and therefore [f]Socrates (in Plato) adviseth all his friends, *that respect their credits, to stand in awe of poets; for they are terrible fellowes, can praise and dispraise, as they see cause.*

Hinc, quam sit calamus sævior ense, patet.

The prophet David complains (Psal. 123. 4) *that his soule was full of the mocking of the wealthy, and of the despitefulness of the proud; and* (Psal. 55. 3) *for the voyce of the wicked,*

[a] Sicut viatores, si ad saxum impegerint, aut nautæ, memores sui casûs, non ista modo quæ offendunt, sed et similia, horrent perpetuo et tremunt. [b] Leviter volant, graviter vulnerant. Bernardus. [c] Ensis sauciat corpus, mordax sermo. [d] Sciatis eum esse qui a nemine fere ævi sui magnate non illustre stipendium habuit, ne mores ipsorum satyris suis notaret. Gasp. Barthius, præfat. parmodid. [e] Jovius, in vitâ ejus. Gravissime tulit famosis libellis nomen suum ad Pasquilli statuam fuisse laceratum; decrevitque ideo statuam demoliri, &c. [f] Plato, lib. 13. de legibus. Qui existimationem curant, poëtas vereantur, quia magnam vim habent ad laudandum et vituperandum.

&c. and their hate, his heart trembled within him, and the terrours of death came upon him; feare and horrible feare, &c. and (Psalm 69. 20) *Rebuke hath broken my heart; and I am full of heaviness.* Who hath not like cause to complain, and is not so troubled, that shall fall into the mouths of such men? for many are of so [a] petulant a spleen, and have that figure *sarcasmus* so often in their mouths, so bitter, so foolish, (as [b] Balthasar Castilio notes of them) that *they cannot speak, but they must bite;* they had rather lose a friend than a jest: and what company soever they come in, they will be scoffing, insulting over their inferiours, especially over such as any way depend upon them, humouring, misusing, or putting gulleries on some or other, till they have made, by their humouring or gulling, [c] *ex stulto insanum,* a mope or a noddy, and all to make themselves merry:

> ——————— [d] dummodo risum
> Excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcit amico:

friends, neuters, enemies, all are as one; to make a fool a madman, is their sport; and they have no greater felicity than to scoffe and deride others; they must sacrifice to the god of laughter (with them in [e] Apuleius) once a day, or else they shall be melancholy themselves: they care not how they grind and misuse others, so they may exhilarate their own persons. Their wits indeed serve them to that sole purpose, to make sport, to break a scurril jest; which is *levissimus ingenii fructus*, the froth of wit (as [f] Tullie holds); and for this they are often applauded. In all other discourse, dry, barren, stramineous, dull and heavy, here lyes their genius; in this they alone excell, please themselves and others. Leo Decimus, that scoffing pope, (as Jovius hath registred in the fourth book of his life) took an extraordinary delight in humouring of silly fellowes, and to put gulleries upon them; [g] *by commending some, perswading others* to this or that, he made *ex stolidis stultissimos et maxime ridiculos, ex stultis insanos*—soft fellowes, stark noddies; and such as were foolish, quite mad—before he left them. One memorable example he recites there, of Tarascomus of Parma, a musician, that was so humoured by Leo Decimus, and Bibiena his secund in this business, that he thought himself to be a man of most excellent skill, (who was indeed a ninny): they [h] *made him set foolish songs, and in-*

[a] Petulanti splene cachinno. [b] Curial. lib. 2. Ea quorumdam est inscitia, ut, quoties loqui, toties mordere licere sibi putent. [c] Ter. Eunuch. [d] Hor. ser. l. 2. Sat. 4. [e] Lib. 2. [f] De orat. [g] Laudando, et mira iis persuadendo. [h] Et vanâ inflatus opinione, incredibilia ac ridenda quædam musices præcepta commentaretur, &c.

vent new ridiculous precepts, which they did highly commend, as to tye his arm that played on the lute, to make him strike a sweeter stroke, [a] *and to pull down the Arras hangings, because the voyce would be clearer, by reason of the reverberation of the wall.* In the like manner they perswaded one Baraballus of Caieta, that he was as good a poet as Petrarch; would have him to be made a laureat poet, and invite all his friends to his instalment; and had so possessed the poor man with a conceit of his excellent poetry, that, when some of his more discreet friends told him of his folly, he was very angry with them, and said [b] *they envyed his honour and prosperity.* It was strange (saith Jovius) to see an old man of sixty yeares, a venerable and grave old man, so gulled. But what cannot such scoffers do, especially if they finde a soft creature, on whom they may work? Nay, to say truth, who is so wise, or so discreet, that may not be humoured in this kinde, especially if some excellent wits shall set upon him? He that mads others, if he were so humoured, would be as mad himself, as much grieved and tormented; he might cry with him in the comœdy, *Proh Jupiter! tu homo me adigis ad insaniam:* for all is in these things as they are taken: if he be a silly soule, and do not perceive it, 'tis well; he may happily make others sport, and be no whit troubled himself: but if he be apprehensive of his folly, and take it to heart, then it torments him worse than any lash. A bitter jest, a slander, a calumny, pierceth deeper than any loss, danger, bodily pain, or injury whatsoever; *leviter enim volat*, (as Bernard, of an arrow) *sed graviter vulnerat;* especially, if it shall proceed from a virulent tongue, it cuts (saith David) *like a two-edged sword. They shoot bitter words as arrows* (Psal. 64. 3); *and they smote with their tongues* (Jer. 18. 18), and that so hard, that they leave an incurable wound behind them. Many men are undone by this meanes, moped, and so dejected, that they are never to be recovered; and, of all other men living, those which are actually melancholy, or inclined to it, are most sensible, (as being suspitious, cholerick, apt to mistake) and impatient of an injury in that kinde: they aggravate, and so meditate continually of it, that it is a perpetual corrosive, not to be removed, till time wear it out. Although they, peradventure, that so scoffe, do it alone in mirth and merriment, and hold it *optimum alienâ frui insaniâ*, an excellent thing to enjoy another mans madness; yet they must know that it is a mortal sin (as [c] Thomas

[a] Ut voces, nudis parietibus illisæ, suavius ac acutius resilirent. [b] Immortalitati et gloriæ suæ prorsus invidentes. [c] 2. 2dæ quæst. 75. Irrisio mortale peccatum.

holds), and (as the prophet [a] David denounceth) they *that use it shall never dwell in God's tabernacle.*

Such scurril jests, flouts, and sarcasmes, therefore, ought not at all to be used, especially to our betters, to those that are in miserie, or any way distressed: for, to such, *ærumnarum incrementa sunt*, they multiply griefe; and (as [b] he perceived) *in multis pudor, in multis iracundia, &c.* many are ashamed, many vexed, angred; and there is no greater cause or furtherer of melancholy. Martin Cromerus, in the sixth book of his history, hath a pretty story to this purpose, of Vladislaus the Second, king of Poland, and Peter Dunnius, earl of Shrine; they had been hunting late, and were enforced to lodge in a poor cottage. When they went to bed, Vladislaus told the earl in jest, that his wife lay softer with the abbot of Shrine: he, not able to contain, replyed, *Et tua cum Dabesso*, and yours with Dabessus, a gallant yong gentleman in the court, whom Christina the queen loved. *Tetigit id dictum principis animum*; these words of his so gauled the prince, that he was long after *tristis et cogitabundus*, very sad and melancholy for many moneths: but they were the earls utter undoing; for, when Christina heard of it, she persecuted him to death. Sophia the empress, Justinian's wife, broke a bitter jest upon Narses the eunuch, (a famous captain, then disquieted for an overthrow which he lately had) that he was fitter for a distaff, and keep women company, than to wield a sword, or to be general of an army: but it cost her dear; for he so far distasted it, that he went forthwith to the adverse part, much troubled in his thoughts, caused the Lumbards to rebell, and thence procured many miseries to the common-wealth. Tiberius the emperour withheld a legacy from the people of Rome, which his predecessour Augustus had lately given, and perceiving a fellow sound a dead coarse in the ear, would needs know wherefore he did so: the fellow replyed, that he wished the departed soule to signifie to Augustus, the commons of Rome were yet unpaid: for this bitter jest the emperour caused him forthwith to be slain, and carry the news himself. For this reason, all those that otherwise approve of jests in some cases, and facete companions, (as who doth not?) let them laugh and be merry, *rumpantur et ilia Codro*; 'tis laudable and fit; those yet will by no meanes admit them in their companies, that are any wayes inclined to this malady; *non jocandum cum iis qui miseri sunt et ærumnosi:* no jesting with a discontented person. 'Tis Castilio's caveat, [c] Jo. Pontanus, and [d] Galateus, and every good mans:

[a] Psal. 15. 3.
[b] Balthasar Castilio, lib. 2. de aulico.
[c] De sermone, lib. 4. cap. 3.
[d] Fol. 55. Galateus.

Play with me, but hurt me not:
Jest with me, but shame me not.

Comitas is a vertue betwixt *rusticity* and *scurrility*, two extreams, as *affability* is betwixt *flattery* and *contention:* it must not exceed; but be still accompanied with that [a] ἀβλαβεια or innocency, *quæ nemini nocet, omnem injuriæ oblationem abhorrens*, hurts no man, abhors all offer of injury. Though a man be liable to such a jest or obloquy, have been overseen, or committed a fowl fact, yet it is no good manners or humanity, to upbraid, to hit him in the teeth with his offence, or to scoffe at such a one: 'tis an old axiome, *turpis in reum omnis exprobratio.* I speak not of such as generally tax vice, Barclay, Gentilis, Erasmus, Agrippa, Fishcartus, &c. the Varronists and Lucians of our time, satyrists, epigrammatists, comœdians, apologists, &c. but such as personate, rail, scoffe, calumniate, perstringe by name, or in presence offend:

[b] Ludit qui stolidâ procacitate,
Non est Sestius ille, sed caballus;

'tis horse-play this; and those jests (as he [c] saith) *are not better than injuries*, biting jests, *mordentes et aculeati*; they are poysoned jests, leave a sting behind them, and ought not to be used.

[d] Set not thy foot to make the blind to fall,
Nor wilfully offend thy weaker brother;
Nor wound the dead with thy tongues bitter gaul;
Neither rejoyce thou in the fall of other.

If these rules could be kept, we should have much more ease and quietness than we have, less melancholy: whereas, on the contrary, we study to misuse each other, how to sting and gaul, like two fighting boars, bending all our force and wit, friends, fortunes, to crucifie [e] one anothers soules; by meanes of which, there is little content and charity, much virulency, hatred, malice, and disquietness among us.

[a] Tullie, Tusc. quæst. [b] Mart. lib. 1. epig. 35. [c] Tales joci ab injuriis non possint discerni. Galateus, fo. 55. [d] Pybrac, in his Quatrains, 37. [e] Ego hujus miserâ fatuitate et dementiâ conflictor. Tull. ad Attic. lib. 11.

SUBSECT. V.

Loss of Liberty, Servitude, Imprisonment, how they cause Melancholy.

TO this catalogue of causes, I may well annex loss of liberty, servitude, or imprisonment, which to some persons is as great a torture as any of the rest. Though they have all things convenient, sumptuous houses to their use, faire walks and gardens, delicious bowers, galleries, good fare and dyet, and all things correspondent, yet they are not content, because they are confined, may not come and go at their pleasure; have and do what they will, but live [a] *alienâ quadrâ*, at another mans table and command. As it is [b] in meats, so is it in all other things, places, societies, sports; let them be never so pleasant, commodious, wholesome, so good; yet *omnium rerum est satietas*, there is a lothing satiety of all things (the children of Israel were tyred with *manna*): it is irksome to them so to live, as to a bird in a cage, or a dog in his kennel; they are weary of it. They are happy, it is true, and have all things (to another mans judgement) that heart can wish, or that they themselves can desire, *bona si sua nõrint*: yet they lothe it, and are tyred with the present. *Est natura hominum novitatis avida*; mens nature is still desirous of news, variety, delights; and our wandring affections are so irregular in this kinde, that they must change, though it be to the worst. Bachelors must be marryed, and marryed men would be bachelors; they do not love their own wives, though otherwise faire, wise, vertuous, and well qualified, because they are theirs: our present estate is still the worst; we cannot endure one course of life long *(et quod modo voverat, odit)*, one calling long *(esse in honore juvat, mox displicet)*, one place long,

> [c] Romæ Tibur amo, ventosus, Tibure Romam:

that which we earnestly sought, we now contemn. *Hoc quosdam agit ad mortem* ([d] saith Seneca) *quod proposita sæpe mutando in eadem revolvuntur, et non relinquunt novitati locum. Fastidio cœpit esse vita, et ipse mundus; et subit illud rapidissimarum deliciarum, Quousque eadem?* this alone kills many a man, that they are tyed to the same still; as a horse in a mill, a dog in a wheel, they run round, without alteration or news; their life groweth odious, the world lothsome, and that which crosseth their furious delights, *What? still the same?* Marcus Aurelius and Solomon, that had experience of

[a] Miserum est alienâ vivere quadrâ. Juv. [b] Crambe bis cocta.—Vitam mihi redde priori. [c] Hor. [d] De Tranquil. animæ.

all worldly delights and pleasure, confessed as much of themselves: what they most desired, was tedious at last, and that their lust could never be satisfied; all was vanity and affliction of minde.

Now, if it be death it self, another hell, to be glutted with one kinde of sport, dyeted with one dish, tyed to one place, though they have all things otherwise as they can desire, and are in heaven, to another mans opinion—what miserie and discontent shall they have, that live in slavery, or in prison itself? *Quod tristius morte, in servitute vivendum*, as Hermolaüs told Alexander in [a]Curtius; worse than death is bondage: [b]*hoc animo scito omnes fortes, ut mortem servituti anteponant*; all brave men at arms (Tullie holds) are so affected. [c]*Equidem ego is sum, qui servitutem extremum omnium malorum esse arbitror*: I am he (saith Boterus) that account servitude the extremity of miserie. And what calamity do they endure, that live with those hard task-masters, in gold-mines (like those thirty thousand [d]Indian slaves at Potosi in Peru), tin-mines, lead-mines, stone-quarries, cole-pits, like so many mould-warps under ground, condemned to the gallies, to perpetual drudgery, hunger, thirst and stripes, without all hope of delivery? How are those women in Turkie affected, that most part of the year come not abroad? Those Italian and Spanish dames, that are mewed up like hawks, and lockt up by their jealous husbands? how tedious is it to them that live in stoves and caves half a year together? as in Island, Moscovie, or under the [e]pole it self, where they have six moneths perpetual night. Nay, what miserie and discontent do they endure, that are in prison? They want all those six non-natural things at once, good ayr, good dyet, exercise, company, sleep, rest, ease, &c. that are bound in chains all day long, suffer hunger, and (as [f]Lucian describes it) *must abide that filthy stink, and rattling of chains, howlings, pittiful out-cryes, that prisoners usually make: these things are not only troublesome, but intolerable.* They lye nastily among toads and frogs in a dark dungeon, in their own dung, in pain of body, in pain of soule, as Joseph did (Psal. 105. 18, *They hurt his feet in the stocks; the iron entered his soule)*: they live solitarily, alone, sequestred from all company but heart-eating melancholy: and, for want of meat, must eat that bread of affliction, prey upon themselves. Well might [g]Arculanus put long imprisonment for a cause, especially to such as, having lived jovially in all sensuality and lust, upon a suddain are estranged and debarred

[a]Lib. 8. [b]Tullius Lepido, Fam. 10. 27. [c]Boterus, l. 1. polit. cap. 4. [d]Lact. descrip. Americæ. [e]If there be any inhabitants. [f]In Toxari. Interdiu quidem collum vinctum est, et manus constrictæ; noctu vero totum corpus vincitur: ad has miserias accedit corporis fœtor, strepitus ejulantium, somni brevitas; hæc omnia plane molesta et intolerabilia. [g]In 9 Rhasis.

from all manner of pleasures; as were Hunniades, Edward and Richard the Secund, Valerian the emperour, Bajazet the Turk. If it be irksome to miss our ordinary companions and repast for once a day, or an hour, what shall it be to lose them for ever? If it be so great a delight to live at liberty, and to enjoy that variety of objects the world affords, what miserie and discontent must it needs bring to him, that shall be now cast headlong into that Spanish inquisition, to fall from heaven to hell, to be cubbed up upon a suddain? how shall he be perplexed? what shall become of him? [a]Robert, duke of Normandy, being imprisoned by his youngest brother Henry the First, *ab illo die inconsolabili dolore in carcere contabuit* (saith Matthew Paris), from that day forward pined away with griefe. [b]Jugurth, that generous captain, *brought to Rome in triumph, and after imprisoned, through anguish of his soule, and melancholy, dyed.* [c]Roger, bishop of Salisbury, the secund man from king Stephen, (he that built that famous castle of [d]Devises in Wiltshire) was so tortured in prison with hunger, and all those calamities accompanying such men, [e]*ut vivere noluerit, mori nescierit*, he would not live, and could not dye, betwixt feare of death and torments of life. Francis, king of France, was taken prisoner by Charles the Fifth, *ad mortem fere melancholicus*, saith Guicciardine, melancholy almost to death, and that in an instant. But this is as clear as the sun, and needs no further illustration.

SUBSECT. VI.

Poverty and Want, causes of Melancholy.

POVERTY and want are so violent oppugners, so unwelcome guests, so much abhorred of all men, that I may not omit to speak of them apart. Poverty, although (if considered aright, to a wise, understanding, truly regenerate, and contented man) it be *donum Dei*, a blessed estate, the way to heaven (as [f]Chrysostome calls it), God's gift, the mother of modesty, and much to be preferred before riches (as shall be shewed in his [g]place), yet, as it is esteemed in the worlds censure, it is a most odious calling, vile and base, a severe torture, *summum scelus*, a most intolerable burthen. We [h]shun it all,

[a] William the Conquerours eldest son. [b] Sallust. Romam triumpho ductus, tandemque in carcerem conjectus, animi dolore periit. [c] Cambden, in Wiltsh. Miserum senem ita fame et calamitatibus in carcere fregit, inter mortis metum et vitæ tormenta, &c. [d] Vies hodie. [e] Seneca. [f] Com. ad Hebræos. [g] Part. 2. Sect. 3. Memb. 3. [h] Quem, ut difficilem morbum, pueris tradere formidamus. Plut.

cane pejus et angue; we abhorr the name of it,

([a] Paupertas fugitur: totoque arcessitur orbe.....)

as being the fountain of all other miseries, cares, woes, labours and grievances whatsoever. To avoid which, we will take any pains;

(——— extremos currit mercator ad Indos)

we will leave no haven, no coast, no creek of the world, unsearched, though it be to the hazard of our lives; we will dive to the bottom of the sea, and to the bowels of the earth, [b] five, six, seaven, eight, nine hundred fathom deep, through all the five zones, and both extreams of heat and cold: we will turn parasites and slaves, prostitute our selves, swear and lye, damn our bodies and soules, forsake God, abjure religion, steal, rob, murder, rather than endure this unsufferable yoak of poverty, which doth so tyrannize, crucifie, and generally depress us.

For, look into the world, and you shall see men, most part, esteemed according to their meanes, and happy as they are rich: [c] *ubique tanti quisque, quantum habuit, fuit.* If he be likely to thrive, and in the way of preferment, who but he? In the vulgar opinion, if a man be wealthy, no matter how he gets it, of what parentage, how qualified, how vertuously endowed, or villanously inclined; let him be a bawd, a gripe, an usurer, a villain, a pagan, a barbarian, a wretch, [d] Lucian's tyrant *on whom you may look with less security, than on the sun*—so that he be rich (and liberal withall) he shall be honoured, admired, adored, reverenced, and highly [e] magnified. *The rich is had in reputation, because of his goods (Ecclus.* 10. 31*):* he shall be befriended; *for, riches gather many friends (Prov.* 19. 4*);——multos numerabit amicos;* all [f] happiness ebbs and flows with his mony. He shall be accounted a gracious lord, a Mæcenas, a benefactor, a [g] wise, discreet, a proper, a valiant, a fortunate man, of a generous spirit, *pullus Jovis, et gallinæ filius albæ,* a hopeful, a good man, a vertuous honest man. *Quando ego te Junonium puerum, et matris partum vere aureum,* as [h] Tullie said of Octavianus, while he was adopted Cæsar, and an [i] heir apparent of so great a monarchy; he was a golden child. All [k] honour, offices, applause, grand titles, and turgent epithets, are put upon him; *omnes omnia bona dicere;* all mens eys

[a] Lucan. l. 1. [b] As in the silver mines in Friburgh in Germany. Fines Morison. [c] Euripides. [d] Tom. 4 dial. Minore periculo solem quam hunc defixis oculis licet intueri. [e] Omnis enim res, Virtus, fama, decus, divina, humanaque, pulchris Divitiis parent. Hor. Ser. l. 2. Sat. 3. Clarus erit, fortis, justus, sapiens, etiam rex, Et quidquid volet. Hor. [f] Et genus, et formam, regina pecunia donat. Mony adds spirits, courage, &c. [g] Epist. ult. ad Atticum. [h] Our yong master, a fine towardly gentleman, (God bless him!) and hopeful. Why? he is heir apparent to the right worshipful, to the right honourable, &c. [i] O nummi, nummi! vobis hunc præstat honorem.

are upon him, "God bless his good worship! his honour!" [a]every man speaks well of him; every man presents him, seeks and sues to him for his love, favour, and protection, to serve him, belong unto him; every man riseth to him, as to Themistocles in the Olympicks; if he speak, (as of Herod) *vox Dei, non hominis!* the voyce of God not of man! All the graces, Veneres, pleasures, elegances attend him; [b]golden Fortune accompanies and lodgeth with him, and (as to those Roman emperours) is placed in his chamber.

——— [c] Securâ naviget aurâ,
Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio:

he may sail as he will himself, and temper his estate at his pleasure: jovial dayes, splendour and magnificence, sweet musick, dainty fare, the good things and fat of the land, fine clothes, rich attires, soft beds, down pillows are at his command; all the world labours for him; thousands of artificers are his slaves, to drudge for him, run, ride, and post for him: [d]divines (for *Pythia philippizat*) lawyers, physitians, philosophers, schollars, are his, wholly devote to his service. Every man seeks his acquaintance, his kindred, to match with him: [e]though he be an aufe, a ninny, a monster, a goose-cap, *uxorem ducat Danaën*, when and whom he will; *hunc optant generum rex et regina*—he is an excellent [f]match for my son, my daughter, my niece, &c. *Quidquid calcaverit hic, rosa fiet*; let him go whither he will, trumpets sound, bells ring, &c. all happiness attends him; every man is willing to entertain him; he sups in [g]Apollo wheresoever he comes; what preparation is made for his [h]entertainment! fish and fowl, spices and perfumes, all that sea and land affords. What cookery, masking, mirth, to exhilarate his person!

[i] Da Trebio; pone ad Trebium; vis, frater, ab illis
Ilibus? ———

What dish will your good worship eat of?

——— [k] dulcia poma
Et quoscunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,
Ante Larem, gustet venerabilior Lare dives.

Sweet apples, and what ere thy fields afford,
Before the Gods be serv'd, let serve thy Lord.

[a] Exinde sapere enim omnes dicimus, ac quisque fortunam habet. Plaut. Pseud. [b] Aurea Fortuna principum cubiculis reponi solita. Julius Capitolinus, vitâ Antonini. [c] Petronius. [d] Theologi opulentis adhærent, jurisperiti pecuniosis, literati nummosis, liberalibus artifices. [e] Multi illum juvenes, multæ petiere puellæ. [f] Dummodo sit dives, barbarus ille placet. [g] Plut. in Lucullo. A rich chamber so called. [h] Panis pane melior. [i] Juv. Sat. 5. [k] Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 2.

What sport will your honour have? hawking, hunting, fishing, fowling, bulls, bears, cards, dice, cocks, players, tumblers, fidlers, jesters, &c. they are at your good worships command. Faire houses, gardens, orchyards, tarraces, galleries, cabinets, pleasant walks, delightsome places, they are at hand; [a]*in aureis lac, vinum in argenteis, adolescentulæ ad nutum speciosæ*, wine, wenches, &c. a Turkie paradise, an heaven upon earth. Though he be a silly soft fellow, and scarce have common sense, yet if he be born to fortunes, (as I have said) [b]*jure hæreditario sapere jubetur*, he must have honour and office in his course; [c]*nemo, nisi dives, honore dignus* (Ambros. *offic.* 21); none so worthy as himself: he shall have it; *atque esto quidquid Servius aut Labeo.* Get mony enough, and command [d]kingdomes, provinces, armies, hearts, hand, and affections; thou shalt have popes, patriarks, to be thy chaplains and parasites; thou shalt have (Tamerlain-like) kings to draw thy coach, queens to be thy landresses, emperours thy foot-stools, build more towns and cities than great Alexander, Babel towers, pyramids, and Mausolean tombes, &c. command heaven and earth, and tell the world it is thy vassal; *auro emitur diadema, argento cœlum panditur, denarius philosophum conducit, nummus jus cogit, obolus literatum pascit, metallum sanitatem conciliat, æs amicos conglutinat.* And therefore, not without good cause, John Medices, that rich Florentine, when he lay upon his death-bed, calling his sons Cosmus and Laurence before him, amongst other sober sayings, repeated this, *Animo quieto digredior, quod vos sanos et divites post me relinquam;* it doth me good to think yet, though I be dying, that I shall leave you, my children, *sound and rich:* for wealth sways all. It is not with us, as amongst those Lacedæmonian senatours of Lycurgus in Plutarch—*he preferred, that deserved best, was most vertuous and worthy of the place;* [e]*not swiftness, or strength, or wealth, or friends, carryed it in those dayes*; but *inter optimos optimus, inter temperantes temperantissimus*, the most temperate and best. We have no *aristocracies* but in contemplation, all *oligarchies*, wherein a few rich men domineer, do what they list, and are privileged by their greatness. [f]They may freely trespass, and do as they please; no man dare accuse them, no not so much as mutter against them; there is no notice taken of it; they may securely do it, live after their own lawes, and,

[a] Bohemus, de Turcis; et Bredenbach. [b] Euphormio. [c] Qui pecuniam habent, elati sunt animis, lofty spirits, brave men at arms: all rich men are generous, contagious, &c. [d] Nummus ait, Pro me nubet Connubia Romæ. [e] Non fuit apud mortales ullum excellentius certamen; non inter celeres celerrimo, non inter robustos robustissimo, &c. [f] Quidquid libet licet.

for their mony, get pardons, indulgences, redeem thier soules from purgatory and hell it self,——*clausum possidet arca Jovem.* Let them be Epicures, or atheists, libertines, Machiavelians, (as often they are)

[a] Et quamvis perjurus erit, sine gente, cruentus,

they may go to heaven through the eye of a needle; if they will themselves, they may be canonized for saints, they shall be [b] honourably interred in Mausolean tombes, commended by poets, registered in histories, have temples and statues erected to their names——*e manibus illis nascentur violæ*——If he be bountiful in his life, and liberal at his death, he shall have one to swear (as he did by Claudius emperour in Tacitus), he saw his soule go to the heaven, and be miserably lamented at his funeral. *Ambubaiarum collegia, &c.* Trimalchionis Topanta, in Petronius, *rectâ in cœlum abiit*, went right to heaven; (a base quean; [c] *thou wouldst have scorned once in thy miserie to have a penny from her)* and why? *modo nummos metiit*, she measured her mony by the bushel. These prerogatives do not usually belong to rich men, but to such as are most part seeming rich; let him have but a good [d] outside, he carryes it, and shall be adored for a God, as [e] Cyrus was amongst the Persians, *ob splendidum apparatum*, for his gay tyres. Now most men are esteemed according to their clothes: in our gullish times, whom you peradventure in modesty would give place to, as being deceived by his habit, and presuming him some great worshipful man, beleeve it, if you shall examine his estate, he will likely be proved a serving man of no great note, my ladies taylor, his lordships barber, or some such gull, a Fastidius Brisk, Sir Petronell Flash, a meer out-side. Only this respect is given him, that wheresoever he comes, he may call for what he will, and take place by reason of his outward habit.

But, on the contrary, if he be poor, *(Prov. 15. 15) all his dayes are miserable;* he is under hatches, dejected, rejected, and forsaken, poor in purse, poor in spirit; [f] *prout res nobis fluit, ita et animus se habet:* [g] mony gives life and soule. Though he be honest, wise, learned, well deserving, noble by birth, and of excellent good parts; yet, in that he is poor, unlikely to rise, come to honour, office, or good meanes, he is contemned, neglected; *frustra sapit, inter literas esurit, amicus molestus.* [h] *If he speak, what babler is this?* (Ecclus.) his

[a] Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 2. [b] Cum moritur dives, concurrunt undique cives: Pauperis ad funus vix est ex millibus unus. [c] Et modo quid fuit? ignoscat mihi genius tuus! noluisses de manu ejus nummos accipere. [d] He that wears silk, cottin, velvet, and gold lace, must needs be a gentleman. [e] Est sanguis atque spiritus pecunia mortalibus. [f] Euripides. [g] Xenophon, Cyropæd. l. 8. [h] In tenui rara est facundia panno. Juv.

nobility without wealth is [a]*projectâ vilior algâ*, and he not esteemed:

Nos viles pulli, nati infelicibus ovis;

if once poor, we are metamorphosed in an instant, base slaves, villains, and vile drudges; [b]for to be poor, is to be a knave, a fool, a wretch, a wicked, an odious fellow, a common eyesore: say poor, and say all: they are born to labour, to miserie, to carry burdens like juments, *pistum stercus comedere*, with Ulysses companions, and (as Chremylus objected in Aristophanes) [c]*salem lingere*, lick salt, to empty jakes, fay chanels, [d]carry out dirt and dunghils, sweep chimnies, rub horseheels, &c. I say nothing of Turkes, galley-slaves, which are bought [e]and sold like juments, or those African negroes, or poor [f]Indian drudges, *qui indies hinc inde deferendis oneribus occumbunt; nam quod apud nos boves et asini vehunt, trahunt, &c. id omne misellis Indis, &c.* they are ugly to behold, and, though earst spruce, now rusty and squalid, because poor: [g]*immundas fortunas æquum est squalorem sequi*; it is ordinarily so. [h]*Others eat to live, but they live to drudge*; [i]*servilis et misera gens nihil recusare audet*; a servile generation, that dare refuse no task.

——————————[k]Heus tu, Dore,
Cape hoc flabellum, ventulum huic facito, dum lavamus,

sirrah, blow winde upon us while we wash; and bid your fellow get him up betimes in the morning; be it faire or fowl, he shall run fifty miles a foot to-morrow, to carry me a letter to my mistris; *Sosia ad pistrinam*; Sosia shall tarry at home, and grind malt all day long; Tristan thresh. Thus are they commanded, being indeed, some of them, as so many footstools for rich men to tread on, blocks for them to get on horse-back, or as [l]*walls for them to piss on*. They are commonly such people, rude, silly, superstitious ideots, nasty, unclean, lowsie, poor, dejected, slavishly humble; and, as [m]Leo Afer observes of the commonalty of Africk, *natura viliores sunt, nec apud suos duces majore in pretio quam si canes essent*: base by nature, and no more esteemed than dogs, [n]*miseram, laboriosam, calamitosam vitam agunt, et inopem,*

[a] Hor. [b] Egere est offendere; et indigere scelestum esse. Sat. Menip. [c] Plaut. act. 4. [d] Nullum tam barbarum, tam vile munus est, quod non lubentissime obire velit gens vilissima. [e] Lausus, orat. in Hispaniam. [f] Lact. descrip. Americæ. [g] Plautus. [h] Leo Afer. ca. ult. l. 1. Edunt, non ut bene vivant, sed ut fortiter laborent. Heinsius. [i] Munster de rusticis Germaniæ, Cosmog. cap. 27. lib. 3. [k] Ter. Eunuch. [l] Pauper paries factus, quem canicula commingant. [m] Lib. 1. cap. ult. [n] Deos omnes illis infensos dicerres: tam pannosi, fame fracti, tot assidue malis afficiuntur, tamquam pecora quibus splendor rationis exortum.

infelicem; rudiores asinis, ut e brutis plane natos dicas: no learning, no knowledge, no civility, scarce common sense, nought but barbarism amongst them; *belluino more vivunt, neque calceos gestant, neque vestes;* like rogues and vagabonds, they go bare-footed and bare-legged, the soals of their feet being as hard as horse hoofs, (as [a]Radzivilius observed at Damiata in Egypt) leading a laborious, miserable, wretched, unhappy life, [b] *like beasts and juments, if not worse* (for a [c]Spaniard in Iucatan sold three Indian boyes for a cheese, and an hundred negro slaves for a horse): their discourse is scurrility, their *summum bonum* a pot of ale. There is not any slavery which these villains will not undergo: *inter illos plerique latrinas evacuant; alii culinariam curant; alii stabularios agunt, urinatores; et id genus similia exercent, &c.* like those people that dwell in the [d]Alps, chimney-sweepers, jakes-farmers, dirt-daubers, vagrant rogues, they labour hard some, and yet cannot get clothes to put on, or bread to eat; for what can filthy poverty give else, but [e]beggery, fulsome nastiness, squalor, contempt, drudgery, labour, ugliness, hunger and thirst, *pediculorum et pulicum numerum* (as [f]he well followed it in Aristophanes) fleas and lice? *pro pallio vestem laceram, et pro pulvinari lapidem bene magnum ad caput,* rags for his rayment, and a stone for his pillow, *pro cathedrâ, ruptæ caput urnæ,* he sits in a broken pitcher, or on a block, for a chair, *et malvæ ramos pro panibus comedit,* he drinks water, and lives on wort leaves, pulse, like a hog, or scraps like a dog: *ut nunc nobis vita afficitur, quis non putabit insaniam esse, infelicitatemque?* (as Chremylus concludes his speech) as we poor men live now adayes, who will not take our life to be [g]infelicity, miserie, and madness?

If they be of little better condition than those base villains, hunger-starved beggers, wandring rogues, those ordinary slaves, and day-labouring drudges, yet they are commonly so preyed upon by [h]poling officers for breaking lawes, by their tyrannizing landlords, so flead and fleeced by perpetual [i]exactions, that though they do drudge, fare hard, and starve their Genius, they cannot live in some [k]countreys; but what they have is instantly taken from them; the very care they take to live, to be drudges, to maintain their poor families, their trouble and anxiety,

[a] Peregrin. Hieros. [b] Nihil omnino meliorem vitam degunt, quam feræ in silvis, jumenta in terris. Leo Afer. [c] Bartholomæus a Casa. [d] Ortelius, in Helvetiâ. Qui habitant in Cæsiâ valle ut plurimum latomi, in Orcellâ valle cultrorum fabri, fumarii in Vigeriâ, sordidum genus hominum, quod repurgandis caminis victum parat. [e] I write not this, any wayes to upbraid, or accuse at, or misuse poor men, but rather to condole and pitty them, by expressing, &c. [f] Chremylus, Act. 4. Plut. [g] Paupertas durum onus miseris mortalibus. [h] Vexat censura columbas. [i] *Deux ace* non possunt, et *six cinque* solvere nolunt: Omnibus est notum *quatre tre* solvere totum. [k] Scandia, Africa, Lituania.

takes away their sleep (Sirac. 31. 1*)*; it makes them weary of their lives: when they have taken all pains, done their utmost and honest endeavours, if they be cast behind by sickness, or over-taken with yeares, no man pitties them; hard-hearted and merciless, uncharitable as they are, they leave them so distressed, to beg, steal, murmur, and [a]rebel, or else starve. The feeling and feare of this miserie compelled those old Romans, whom Menenius Agrippa pacified, to resist their governours—outlawes, and rebels in most places, to take up seditious arms; and in all ages hath caused uprores, murmurings, seditions, rebellions, thefts, murders, mutinies, jarrs and contentions in every common-wealth, grudging, repining, complaining, discontent in each private family, because they want meanes to live according to their callings, bring up their children; it breaks their hearts, they cannot do as they would. No greater miserie than for a lord to have a knights living, a gentleman a yeomans, not to be able to live as his birth and place requires. Poverty and want are generally corrosive to all kindes of men, especially to such as have been in good and flourishing estate, are suddainly distressed, [b]nobly born, liberally brought up, and, by some disaster, and casualty, miserably dejected. For the rest, as they have base fortunes, so they have base mindes correspondent—like beetles, *e stercore orti, e stercore victus, in stercore delicium*—as they were obscurely born and bred, so they delight and live in obscenity; they are not so throughly touched with it.

Angustas animas angusto in pectore versant.

Yea (that which is no small cause of their torments) if once they come to be in distress, they are forsaken of their fellowes, most part neglected, and left unto themselves; as poor [c]Terence in Rome was by Scipio, Lælius, and Furius, his great and noble friends.

——————————Nihil Publius
Scipio profuit, nil ei Lælius, nil Furius,
Tres per idem tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime.
Horum ille operâ ne domum quidem habuit conductitiam.

'Tis generally so;

Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris;

he is left cold and comfortless;

Nullus ad admissas ibit amicus opes;

all flee from him, as from a rotten wall, now ready to fall

[a] Montaigne, in his Essayes, speaks of certain Indians in France, that, being asked how they liked the country, wondered how a few rich men could keep so many poor men in subjection, that they did not cut their throats. [b] Angustas animas animoso in pectore versans. [c] Donatus, vit. ejus.

on their heads. Prov. 19. 4. *Poverty separates them from their* [a]*neighbours:*

> [b] Dum fortuna favet, vultum servatis, amici:
> Cum cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fugâ.
>
> Whil'st fortune favour'd, friends, you smil'd on me.
> But, when she fled, a friend I could not see.

Which is worse yet, if he be poor, [c]every man contemns him, insults over him, oppresseth him, scoffes at, aggravates his miserie.

> [d] Quum cœpit quassata domus subsidere, partes
> In proclinatas omne recumbit onus.
>
> When once the tottering house begins to shrink,
> Thither comes all the weight by an instinct.

Nay, they are odious to their own brethren, and dearest friends: (Prov. 19. 7) *his brethren hate him, if he be poor:* [e]*omnes vicini oderunt, his neighbours hate him* (Prov. 14. 20): [f]*omnes me noti ac ignoti deserunt*, (as he complained in the comœdy) friends and strangers, all forsake me. Which is most grievous, poverty makes men ridiculous;

> Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
> Quam quod ridiculos homines facit:

they must endure [g]jests, taunts, flouts, blows of their betters, and take all in good part, to get a meals meat:

> [h] Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
> Quidvis et facere et pati.

He must turn parasite, jester, fool, *(cum desipientibus desipere*, saith [i]Euripides), slave, villain, drudge, to get a poor living, apply himself to each mans humours, to win and please, &c. and be buffeted, when he hath all done (as Ulysses was by Melanthius [k]in Homer), be reviled, baffled, insulted over, for [l]*potentiorum stultitia perferenda est*, and may not so much as mutter against it. He must turn rogue and villain; for, as the saying is, *necessitas cogit ad turpia;* poverty alone makes men theeves, rebels, murderers, traitours, assassinates, *(because of poverty, we have sinned, Ecclus*, 27. 1) swear and forswear, bear false witness, lye, dissemble, any thing, as I say, to advantage themselves, and to relieve their necessities: [m]*culpæ scelerisque magistra est:* when a man is driven to his shifts, what will he not do?

> ——— si miserum fortuna Sinonem
> Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget:

[a] Prov. 19. 7. though he be instant, yet they will not. [b] Petronius. [c] Non est, qui doleat vicem: ut Petrus Christum, jurant se hominem non novisse. [d] Ovid. in Trist. [e] Horat. [f] Ter. Eunuchus, act. 2. [g] Quid quod materiam præbet causamque jocandi. Si toga sordida sit? Juv. Sat. 2. [h] Hor. [i] In Phœnis. [k] Odyss. 17. [l] Idem. [m] Mantuan.

he will betray his father, prince, and countrey, turn Turk, forsake religion, abjure God and all: *nulla tam horrenda proditio, quam illi lucri caussá* (saith [a]Leo Afer) *perpetrare nolint.* [b]Plato therefore calls poverty *theevish, sacrilegious, filthy, wicked, and mischievous;* and well he might; for it makes many an upright man otherwise (had he not been in want) to take bribes, to be corrupt, to do against his conscience, to sell his tongue, heart, hand, &c. to be churlish, hard, unmerciful, uncivil, to use indirect meanes to help his present estate. It makes princes to exact upon their subjects, great men tyrannize, landlords oppress, justice mercenary, lawyers vultures, physitians harpyes, friends importunate, tradesmen lyers, honest men theeves, devout assassinates, great men to prostitute their wives, daughters, and themselves, middle sort to repine, commons to mutiny, all to grudge, murmur, and complain. A great temptation to all mischiefe, it compels some miserable wretches to counterfeit several diseases, to dismember, make themselves blind, lame, to have a more plausible cause to beg, and lose their limbs to recover their present wants. Jodocus Damhoderius, a lawyer of Bruges, *(praxi rerum criminal. c.* 112*)* hath some notable examples of such counterfeit cranks; and every village almost will yeeld abundant testimonies amongst us; we have dummerers, Abraham men, &c. And (that which is the extent of miserie) it enforceth them, through anguish and wearisomeness of their lives, to make away themselves: they had rather be hanged, drowned, &c. than to live without meanes.

> [c]In mare cetiferum, ne te premat aspera egestas,
> Desili, et a celsis corrue, Cyrne, jugis.
>
> Much better 'tis to break thy neck,
> Or drown thy self i' th' sea,
> Than suffer irksome poverty:—
> Go make thy self away.

A Sybarite of old, (as I finde it registred in [d]Athenæus) supping *in Phiditiis* in Sparta, and observing their hard fare, said it was no marvail if the Lacedæmonians were valiant men; *for his part, he would rather run upon a swords point, (and so would any man in his wits) than live with such base dyet, or lead so wretched a life.* [e]In Japona, 'tis a common thing to stifle their children if they be poor, or to make an abort; which

[a] De Africâ, lib. 1. cap. ult. [b] 4. de legibus. Furacissima paupertas, sacrilega, turpis, flagitiosa, omnium malorum opifex. [c] Theognis. [d] Dipnosophist. lib. 12. Multos potius moriturum (si quis sibi mente constaret) quam tam vilis et scrumnosi victûs communionem habere. [e] Gasper Vilela Jesuita, epist. Japon. lib.

Aristotle commends. In that civil commonwealth of China, [a] the mother strangles her child, if she be not able to bring it up, and had rather lose than sell it, or have it endure such miserie as poor men do. Arnobius *(lib. 7. adversus gentes)*, [b] Lactantius *(lib. 5. cap. 9)*, objects as much to those ancient Greeks and Romans: *they did expose their children to wild beasts, strangle, or knock out their brains against a stone*, in such cases. If we may give credit to [c] Munster, amongst us Christians, in Lituania they voluntarily mancipate and sell themselves, their wives, and children, to rich men, to avoid hunger and beggery: [d] many make away themselves in this extremity. Apicius, the Roman, when he cast up his accounts, and found but 100000 crowns left, murdered himself, for feare he should be famished to death. P. Forestus, in his medicinal observations, hath a memorable example of two brothers of Lovain, that, being destitute of meanes, became both melancholy, and, in a discontented humour, massacred themselves; another of a merchant, learned, wise otherwise and discreet, but, out of a deep apprehension he had of a loss at sea, would not be perswaded but (as [e] Ventidius, in the poet) he should dye a begger. In a word, thus much I may conclude of poor men, that, though they have good [f] parts, they cannot shew or make use of them: [g] *ab inopiâ ad virtutem obsepta est via*; 'tis hard for a poor man to [h] rise;

> Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
> Res angusta domi:

the wisdome of the poor is despised, and his words are not heard (Eccles. 9. 16): his workes are rejected, contemned for the baseness and obscurity of the author; though laudable and good in themselves, they will not likely take.

> Nulla placere diu, neque vivere, carmina possunt,
> Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus,

Poor men cannot please: their actions, counsells, consultations, projects, are vilified in the worlds esteem: *amittunt consilium in re*, which Gnatho long since observed. [i] *Sapiens crepidas sibi nunquam, Nec soleas, fecit*; a wise man never cobled shooes; as he said of old; but how doth he prove it? I am sure we finde it otherwise in our dayes; [k] *pruinosis horret facundia pannis*. Homer himself must beg, if he want meanes, and (as,

[a] Mat. Riccius, expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1. c. 3. [b] Vos Romani procreatos filios feris et canibus exponitis, nunc strangulatis, vel in saxum eliditis, &c. [c] Cosmog. 4. lib. cap. 22. Vendunt liberos victu carentes, tamquam pecora, interdum et seipsos, ut apud divites saturentur cibis. [d] Vel bonorum desperatione vel malorum perpessione fracti et fatigati, plures violentas manus sibi inferunt. [e] Hor. [f] Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces: Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus. [g] Terent. [h] Juvenal. Sat. 3. [i] Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 1. [k] Petronius.

by report, sometimes he did) [a]*go from door to door, and sing ballads, with a company of boyes about him.* This common miserie of theirs must needs distract, make them discontent and melancholy, as ordinarily they are, wayward, peevish, like a weary traveller, (for

> [b]Fames et mora bilem in nares conciunt)

still murmuring and repining. *Ob inopiam morosi sunt, quibus est male,* as Plutarch quotes out of Euripides, and that comicall poet well secunds—

> [c]Omnes, quibus res sunt minus secundæ, nescio quomodo
> Suspiciosi, ad contumeliam omnia accipiunt magis;
> Propter suam impotentiam se credunt negligi:

if they be in adversity, they are more suspitious and apt to mistake; they think themselves scorned by reason of their miserie; and therefore many generous spirits, in such cases, withdraw themselves from all company, as that comœdian [d]Terence is said to have done; when he perceived himself to be forsaken and poor, he voluntarily banished himself to Stymphalus, a base town in Arcadia, and there miserably dyed:

> ———ad summam inopiam redactus:
> Itaque e conspectu omnium abiit, Græciæ in terram ultimam.

Neither is it without cause; for we see men commonly respected according to their meanes, (*an dives sit, omnes quærunt; nemo, an bonus*) and vilified if they be in bad clothes. [f]Philopœmen the oratour was set to cut wood, because he was so homely attired. [g]Terentius was placed at the lower end of Cæcilius table, because of his homely outside. [h]Dante, that famous Italian poet, by reason his clothes were but mean, could not be admitted to sit down at a feast. Gnatho scorned his old familiar friend, because of his apparel; [i] *hominem video pannis annisque obsitum; hic ego illum contempsi præ me.* King Perseus, overcome, sent a letter to [k]Paullus Æmilius the Roman general, "*Perseus P. Consuli S.*" but he scorned him any answer, *tacite exprobrans fortunam suam* (saith mine author), upbraiding him with a present fortune. [l]Carolus Pugnax, that great duke of Burgundy, made H. Holland, late duke of Exeter, exil'd, run after his horse like a lackey, and would take

[a]Herodotus, vitâ ejus. Scaliger, in poët. Potentiorum ædes ostiatim adiens, aliquid accipiebat, canens carmina sua, concomitante eum puerorum choro. [b]Plautus, Amph. [c]Ter. Act. 4. Scen. 3. Adelph. Hegio. [d]Donat. vitâ ejus. [e]Euripides. [f]Plutarch. vitâ ejus. [g]Vit. Ter. [h]Gomesius, lib. 3. c. 21. Cassic. [i]Ter. Eunuch. Act. 2. Scen. 2. [k]Liv. dec. 9. l. 2. [l]Comineus,

no notice of him: [a] 'tis the common fashion of the world: so that such men as are poor may justly be discontent, melancholy, and complain of their present miserie; and all may pray with [b] Solomon, *Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor poverty; feed me with food convenient for me.*

SUBSECT. VII.

An heap of other Accidents causing Melancholy, Death of Friends, Losses, &c.

IN this labyrinth of accidentall causes, the farther I wander, the more intricate I finde the passage; *multæ ambages;* and new causes, as so many by-paths, offer themselves to be discussed. To search out all, were an Herculean work, and fitter for Theseus: I will follow mine intended thred and point only at some few of the chiefest;

Death of Friends.] amongst which, loss and death of friends may challenge a first place. *Multi tristantur* (as [c] Vives well observes) *post delicias, convivia, dies festos;* many are melancholy after a feast, holy-day, merry meeting, or some pleasing sport, if they be solitary by chance, left alone to themselves, without employment, sport, or want their ordinary companions; some, at the departure of friends only whom they shall shortly see again, weep and howl, and look after them as a cow lows after her calf, or a child takes on, that goes to school after holidayes. *Ut me levárat tuus adventus, sic discessus afflixit,* (which [d] Tullie writ to Atticus) thy coming was not so welcome to me, as thy departure was harsh. Montanus *(consil. 132)* makes mention of a countrey-woman, that, parting with her friends and native place, became grievously melancholy for many yeares; and Trallianus, of another, so caused for the absence of her husband; which is an ordinary passion amongst our good wives; if their husband tarry out a day longer than his appointed time, or break his hour, they take on presently with sighs and tears; "he is either robbed or dead; some mischance or other is surely befaln him:" they cannot eat, drink, sleep, or be quiet in minde, till they see him again. If parting of friends, absence alone, can work such violent effects, what shall death do, when they must eternally be separated, never in this world to meet again? This is so grievous a torment for the time, that it takes away their appetite, desire of life,

[a] He that hath 5l. per annum coming in more than others, scorns him that hath less, and is a better man. [b] Prov. 30. 8. [c] De animâ. cap. de mœrore. [d] Lib. 12. epist.

extinguisheth all delights, it causeth deep sighs and groans, tears, exclamations,

> (O dulce germen matris! o sanguis meus!
> Eheu! tepentes, &c.————o flos tener!)

howling, roring, many bitter pangs,

> ([a] Lamentis gemituque et fœmineo ululatu
> Tecta fremunt)

and by frequent meditation extends so far sometimes, [b] *they think they see their dead friends continually in their eys, obversantes imagines*, as Conciliator confesseth he saw his mothers ghost presenting herself still before him. *Quod nimis miseri volunt, hoc facile credunt;* still, still, still, that good father, that good son, that good wife, that dear friend, runs in their mindes: *totus animus hac unâ cogitatione defixus est*, all the year long, as [c] Pliny complains to Romanus, *methinks I see Virginius, I hear Virginius, I talk with Virginius, &c.*

> [d] Te sine, væ misero mihi, lilia nigra videntur,
> Pallentesque rosæ, nec dulce rubens hyacinthus;
> Nullos nec myrtus, nec laurus, spirat odores.

They that are most staid and patient, are so furiously carryed headlong by the passion of sorrow in this case, that brave discreet men otherwise, oftentimes forget themselves, and weep like children many moneths together, *as* [e] *if that they to water would*, and will not be comforted. They are gone! they are gone!

> Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo!

what shall I do?

> Quis dabit in lacrymas fontem mihi? quis satis altos
> Accendet gemitus, et acerbo verba dolori?
> Exhaurit pietas oculos, et hiantia frangit
> Pectora, nec plenos avido sinit edere questus;
> Magna adeo jactura premit, &c.

> Fountains of tears who gives? who lends me groans,
> Deep sighs, sufficient to express my moans?
> Mine eys are dry, my breast in peeces torn;
> My loss so great, I cannot enough mourn.

So Stroza filius, that elegant Italian poet, in his Epicedium, bewails his fathers death: he could moderate his passions in other matters (as he confesseth), but not in this; he yeelds wholly to sorrow,

> Nunc, fateor, do terga malis; mens illa fatiscit,
> Indomitus quondam vigor et constantia mentis.

[a] Virg. 4. Æn. [b] Patres mortuos coram astantes, et filios, &c. Marcellus Donatus. [c] Epist. l. 2, Virginium video, audio; defunctum cogito, alloquor. [d] Calphurnius Græcus. [e] Chaucer.

How doth [a]Quintilian complain for the loss of his son, to despair almost! Cardan lament his only child, in his book *de libris propriis*, and elsewhere in many other of his tracts, [b]St. Ambrose his brothers death! *(an ego possum non cogitare de te, aut sine lacrymis cogitare? O amari dies! o flebiles noctes! &c.)* Gregory Nazianzen, that noble Pulcheria! *(O decorem, &c. flos recens, pullulans, &c.)* Alexander, a man of a most invincible courage, after Hephæstion's death, (as Curtius relates) *triduum jacuit ad moriendum obstinatus*, lay three dayes together upon the ground, obstinate to dye with him, and would neither eat, drink, nor sleep. The woman that communed with Esdras, *(lib. 2. cap. 10)* when her son fell down dead, *fled into the field, and would not return into the city, but there resolved to remain, neither to eat nor drink, but mourn and fast until she dyed. Rachel wept for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not* (Matt. 2. 18). So did Adrian the emperour bewail his Antinous; Hercules, Hylas; Orpheus, Eurydice; David, Absolon; (O my dear son Absolon) Austin, his mother Monica; Niobe, her children, insomuch, that the [c]poets faigned her to be turned into a stone, as being stupified through the extremity of griefe. [d]Ægeus, *signo lugubri filii consternatus, in mare se præcipitem dedit*, impatient of sorrow for his sons death, drowned himself. Our late physitians are full of such examples. Montanus *(consil. 242)* [e]had a patient troubled with this infirmity, by reason of her husbands death, many yeares together: Trincavellius *(l. 1. c. 14)* hath such another, almost in despair, after his [f]mothers departure, *ut se ferme præcipitem daret*, and ready through distraction to make away himself; and (in his fifteenth counsell) tells a story of one fifty yeares of age, *that grew desperate upon his mothers death;* and, cured by Phalopius, fell many yeares after into a relapse, by the suddain death of a daughter which he had, and could never after be recovered. The fury of this passion is so violent sometimes, that it daunts whole kingdomes and cities. Vespasian's death was pittifully lamented all over the Roman empire; *totus orbis lugebat*, saith Aurelius Victor. Alexander commanded the battlements of houses to be pulled down, mules and horses to have their manes shorn off, and many common souldiers to be slain, to accompany his dear Hephæstion's death; which is now practised amongst the Tartars: when [g]a great Cham dyeth, ten or twelve thousand must be slain, men and

[a]Præfat. lib. 6. [b]Lib. de obitu Satyri fratris. [c]Ovid. Met. [d]Plut. vitâ ejus. [e]Nobilis matrona melancholica ob mortem mariti. [f]Ex matris obitu in desperationem incidit. [g]Matthias a Michou. Boter. Amphithea.

horses, all they meet; and, among those [a]pagan Indians, their wives and servants voluntarily dye with them. Leo Decimus was so much bewailed in Rome after his departure, that (as Jovius gives out) [b]*communis salus, publica hilaritas*, the common safety, all good fellowship, peace, mirth, and plenty, dyed with him; *tamquam eodem sepulcro cum Leone condita lugebantur;* for it was a golden age whilst he lived; [c]but, after his decease, an iron season succeeded, *barbara vis, et fœda vastitas, et dira malorum omnium incommoda*, wars, plagues, vastity, discontent. When Augustus Cæsar dyed, saith Paterculus, *orbis ruinam timueramus*, we were all afraid, as if heaven had fallen upon our heads. [d]Budæus records, how that, at *Lewis the twelfth his death, tam subita mutatio, ut qui prius digito cœlum attingere videbantur, nunc humi derepente serpere, sideratos esse diceres*, they that were erst in heaven, upon a suddain, as if they had been planet-strucken, lay groveling on the ground;

> [e]Concussis cecidere animis, ceu frondibus ingens
> Sylva dolet lapsis ———

they look't like cropt trees.

[f]At Nancy in Lorain, when Claudia Valesia, Henry the secund French kings sister, and the dukes wife, deceased, the temples for forty dayes were all shut up, no prayers nor masses, but in that room where she was; the senatours all seen in black; *and for a twelve moneths space throughout the city, they were forbid to dance.*

> ———[g]Non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
> Frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla nec amnem
> Libavit quadrupes, nec graminis attigit herbam.

How were we affected here in England for our Titus, *delicia humani generis*, Prince Henry's immature death, as if all our dearest friends lives had exhaled with his! [h]Scanderbeg's death was not so much lamented in Epirus. In a word, as [i]he saith of Edward the First at the news of Edward of Caernarvon his sons birth, *immortaliter gavisus*, he was immortally glad, may we say on the contrary of friends deaths, *immortaliter gementes*, we are, divers of us, as so many turtles, eternally dejected with it.

[a]Lo. Vertoman. M. Polus Venetus, lib. 1. c. 54. Perimunt eos quos in viâ obvios habent, dicentes, Ite, et domino nostro regi servite in aliâ vitâ. Nec tam in homines insaniunt, sed in equos, &c. [b]Vit. ejus. [c]Lib. 4. vitæ ejus. Aureum ætatem condiderat ad humani generis salutem, quum nos statim ab optimi principis excessu vere ferream pateremur, famem, pestem, &c. [d]Lib. 5. de asse. [e]Maph. [f]Ortelius, Itinerario. Ob annum integrum a cantu, tripudiis, et saltationibus, tota civitas abstinere jubetur. [g]Virg. [h]See Barletius, de vitâ et ob. Scanderbeg, lib. 13. hist. [i]Matth. Paris.

There is another sorrow, which ariseth from the loss of temporal goods and fortunes, which equally afflicteth, and may go hand in hand with the precedent. Loss of time, loss of honour, office, of good name, of labour, frustrate hopes will much torment; but, in my judgement, there is no torment like unto it, or that sooner procureth this malady and mischiefe:

[a] Ploratur lacrymis amissa pecunia veris:

it wrings true tears from our eys, many sighe, much sorrow from our hearts, and often causeth habitual melancholy it self. Guianerius *(tract. 15. 5)* repeats this for an especiall cause: [b] *loss of friends, and loss of goods, make many men melancholy, (as I have often seen) by continual meditation of such things.* The same causes Arnoldus Villanovanus inculcates, *(Breviar. l. 1. c. 18) ex rerum amissione, damno, amicorum morte, &c.* Want alone will make a man mad; to be *sans argent*, will cause a deep and grievous melancholy. Many persons are affected like [c] Irishmen in this behalf, who, if they have a good scimeter, had rather have a blow on their arm, than their weapon hurt: they will sooner lose their life, than their goods: and the griefe that cometh hence, continueth long, (saith [d] Plater) *and, out of many dispositions, procureth an habit.* [e] Montanus and Frisemelica cured a yong man of twenty two yeares of age, that so became melancholy *ob amissam pecuniam*, for a sum of mony which he had unhappily lost. Sckenkius hath such another story of one melancholy, because he overshot himself, and spent his stock in unnecessary building. [f] Roger, that rich bishop of Salisbury, *exutus opibus et castris a rege Stephano*, spoyled of his goods by king Stephen, *vi doloris absorptus, atque in amentiam versus, indecentia fecit*, through griefe, ran mad, spake and did he knew not what! Nothing so familiar, as for men in such cases, through anguish of minde, to make away themselves. A poor fellow went to hang himself, (which Ausonius hath elegantly expressed in a neat [g] epigram) but, finding by chance a pot of mony, flung away the rope, and went merrily home; but he that hid the gold, when he missed it, hanged himself with that rope which the other man had left, in a discontented humour.

At qui condiderat, postquam non reperit aurum,
Aptavit collo, quem reperit, laqueum.

[a] Juvenal. [b] Multi, qui res amatas perdiderant, ut filios, opes, non sperantes recuperare, propter assiduam talium considerationem melancholici fiunt, ut ipse vidi. [c] Stanihurstus, Hib. Hist. [d] Cap. 3. Melancholia semper venit ob jacturam pecuniæ, victoriæ repulsam, mortem liberorum, quibus longo post tempore animus torquetur; et a dispositione fit habitus. [e] Consil. 26. [f] Nubrigensis. [g] Epig. 22.

Such ferall accidents can want and penury produce. Be it by suretyship, shipwrack, fire, spoyl and pillage of souldiers, or what loss soever, it boots not; it will work the like effect, the same desolation in provinces and cities, as well as private persons. The Romans were miserably dejected after the battel of Cannæ, the men amazed for feare, the stupid women tore their hair and cryed;—the Hungarians, when their king Ladislaus, and bravest souldiers, were slain by the Turkes: *luctus publicus, &c.*—the Venetians, when their forces were overcome by the French king Lewis, the French and Spanish kings, pope, emperour, all conspired against them, at Cambray, the French herald denounced open war in the senate, *Lauredane, Venetorum dux, &c.* and they had lost Padua, Brixia, Verona, Forum Julii, their territories in the continent, and had now nothing left but the city of Venice it self, *et urbi quoque ipsi* (saith [a]Bembus) *timendum putarent,* and the loss of that was likewise to be feared; *tantus repente dolor omnes tenuit, ut nunquam alias, &c.* they were pittifully plunged, never before in such lamentable distress. Anno 1527, when Rome was sacked by Burbonius, the common souldiers made such spoyl, that faire [b]churches were turned to stables, old monuments and bookes made horse-litter, or burned like straw; reliques, costly pictures defaced; altars demolished, rich hangings, carpets, &c. trampled in the dirt; [c]their wives and loveliest daughters constuprated by every base cullion (as Sejanus daughter was by the hangman in publike) before their fathers and husbands faces; noblemens children, and of the wealthiest citizens, reserved for princes beds, were prostitute to every common souldier, and kept for concubines; senatours and cardinals themselves drag'd along the streets, and put to exquisite torments, to confess where their mony was hid; the rest, murdered on heaps, lay stinking in the streets; infants brains dashed out before their mothers eys. A lamentable sight it was to see so goodly a city so suddainly defaced, rich citizens sent a begging to Venice, Naples, Ancona, &c. that erst lived in all manner of delights. [d]*Those proud palaces, that even now vaunted their tops up to heaven, were dejected as low as hell in an instant.* Whom will not such miserie make discontent? Terence the poet drowned himself (some say) for the loss of his comœdies, which suffered shipwrack. When a poor man hath made many

[a] Lib. 8, Venet. hist. [b] Templa ornamentis nudata, spolista, in stabula equorum et asinorum versa, &c. Infulæ humi conculcatæ pedibus, &c. [c] In oculis maritorum dilectissimæ conjuges ab Hispanorum lixis constupratæ sunt. Filiæ magnatum thoris destinatæ, &c. [d] Ita fastu ante unum mensem turgida civitas, et cacuminibus cœlum pulsare visa, ad inferos usque paucis diebus dejecta.

hungry meals, got together a small sum, which he loseth in an instant—a schollar spent many an hours study to no purpose, his labours lost, &c.—how should it otherwise be? I may conclude, with Gregory, *temporalium amor quantum afficit, cum hæret possessio, tantum, quum subtrahitur, urit dolor*; riches do not so much exhilarate us with their possession, as they torment us with their loss.

Feare from ominous accidents, destinies foretold.] Next to sorrow still I may annex such accidents as procure feare; for, besides those terrours which I have [a] before touched, and many other feares (which are infinite), there is a superstitious feare, (one of the three great causes of feare in Aristotle) commonly caused by prodigies and dismal accidents, which much trouble many of us, *(Nescio quid animus mihi præsagit mali.)* as, if a hare cross the way at our going forth, or a mouse gnaw our clothes: if they bleed three drops at the nose, the salt falls towards them, a black spot appear in their nails, &c. with many such, which Delrio *(Tom. 2. lib. 3. sect. 4.)*, Austin Niphus (in his book *de Auguriis)*, Polydore Virg. *(l. 3. de Prodigiis)* Sarisburiensis *(Polycrat. l. 1. c. 13.)*, discuss at large. They are so much affected, that with the very strength of imagination, feare, and the divels craft, [b] *they pull those misfortunes they suspect upon their own heads, and that which they feare, shall come upon them*, as Solomon foretelleth (Prov. 10. 24), and Isay denounceth (66. 4), which if [c] *they could neglect and contemn, would not come to pass. Eorum vires nostrâ resident opinione, ut morbi gravitas ægrotantium cogitatione;* they are intended and remitted, as our opinion is fixed, more or less. *N. N. dat pœnas*, saith [d] Crato of such a one; *utinam non attraheret:* he is punished, and is the cause of it [e] himself.

[f] Dum fata fugimus, fata stulti incurrimus;

the thing that I feared, saith Job, is faln upon me.

As much we may say of them that are troubled with their fortunes, or ill destinies fore-seen; *multos angit præscientia malorum:* the fore-knowledge of what shall come to pass, crucifies many men, fore-told by astrologers, or wizards, *iratum ob cœlum*, be it ill accident, or death it self; which often falls out by Gods permission *quia dæmonem timent*, (saith Chrysostome) *Deus ideo permittit accidere.* Severus, Adrian, Domitian, can testifie as much, of whose feare and suspition, Sueton, Herodian, and the rest of those writers, tell strange stories in this behalf. [g] Montanus *(consil. 31)* hath one ex-

[a] Sect. 2. Memb. 4. Subs. 3.
[b] Accersiunt sibi malum.
[c] Si non observemus, nihil valent. Polydor.
[d] Consil. 26. 1. 2.
[e] Harm-watch, harm catch.
[f] Geor. Buchan. melancholicus.
[g] Juvenis, solicitus de futuris frustra, factus

ample of a yong man, exceeding melancholy upon this occasion. Such feares have still tormented mortal man in all ages, by reason of those lying oracles, and jugling priests. [a] There was a fountain in Greece, near Ceres temple in Achaia, where the event of such diseases was to be known: *a glass let down by a thred, &c.* Amongst those Cyanean rocks at the springs of Lycia, was the oracle of Thrixeus Apollo, *where all fortunes were fore-told, sickness, health, or what they would besides:* so common people have been always deluded with future events. At this day, *metus futurorum maxime torquet Sinas*, this foolish feare mightily crucifies them in China: as [b] Matthew Riccius the Jesuite informeth us, in his Commentaries of those countreys, of all nations they are most superstitious, and much tormented in this kinde, attributing so much to their divinators, *ut ipse metus fidem faciat*, that feare itself and conceit cause it to [c] fall out: if he foretell sickness such a day, that very time they will be sick *(vi metûs afflicti in ægritudinem cadunt)* and many times dye as it is fore-told. A true saying, *timor mortis morte pejor*, the feare of death is worse than death it self; and the memory of that sad hour, to some fortunate and rich men, *is as bitter as gaul* (Eccles. 41. 1) *Inquietam nobis vitam facit mortis metus:* a worse plague cannot happen to a man, than to be so troubled in his minde; [d] 'tis *triste divortium*, an heavy separation, to leave their goods, with so much labour got, pleasures of the world, which they have so deliciously enjoyed, friends and companions whom they so dearly love, all at once. Axiochus the philosopher was bold and courageous all his life, and gave good precepts *de contemnendâ morte*, and against the vanity of the world, to others; but, being now ready to dye himself, he was mightily dejected; *hac luce privabor? his orbabor bonis?* he lamented like a child, &c. And though Socrates himself was there to comfort him, *ubi pristina virtutum jactatio, O Axioche?* yet he was very timorous and impatient of death, much troubled in his minde: *imbellis pavor et impatientia, &c. O Clotho!* Megapetus the tyrant in Lucian exclaims, now ready to depart, *let me live a while longer.* [e] *I will give thee a thousand talents of gold, and two boles besides, which I took from Cleocritus, worth an hundred talents apeece. Wo's me!* [f] saith another, *what goodly mannors shall I leave! what fertil*

[a] Pausanias, in Achaïc. lib. 7. Ubi omnium eventus dignoscuntur. Speculum tenui suspensum funiculo demittunt: et ad Cyaneas petras, ad Lyciæ fontes, &c. [b] Expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1. c. 3. [c] Timendo præoccupat, quod vitat ultro, provocatque quod fugit, gaudetque mœrens, et lubens miser fuit. Heimius, Austriac. [d] Tom. 4, dial. 8 Cataplo. Auri puri mille talenta me hodie tibi daturum promitto, &c. [e] Ibidem. Hei mihi! quæ relinquenda prædia! quam fertiles agri! &c.

fields! what a fine house! what pretty children! how many servants! Who shall gather my grapes, my corn? Must I now dye, so well setled? leave all, so richly and well provided? Wo's me! what shall I do? [a] *Animula vagula, blandula, quæ nunc abibis in loca?*

To these tortures of feare and sorrow, may well be annexed curiosity, that irksome, that tyrannizing care, *nimia solicitudo,* [b] *superfluous industry about unprofitable things, and their qualities,* as Thomas defines it: an itching humour or kinde of longing to see that which is not to be seen, to do that which ought not to be done; to know that [c] secret, which should not be known, to eat of the forbidden fruit. We commonly molest and tire our selves about things unfit and unnecessary, as Martha troubled her self to little purpose. Be it in religion, humanity, magick, philosophy, policy, any action or study, 'tis a needless trouble, a meer torment. For what else is school-divinity? how many doth it puzzle! what fruitless questions about the Trinity, resurrection, election, predestination, reprobation, hell fire, &c. how many shall be saved, damned? What else is all superstition, but an endless observation of idle ceremonies, traditions? What is most of our philosophy, but a labyrinth of opinions, idle questions, propositions, metaphysical terms? Socrates therefore held all philosophers cavillers and mad-men; *circa subtilia cavillatores pro insanis habuit, palam eos arguens,* saith [d] Eusebius, because they commonly sought after such things *quæ nec percipi a nobis neque comprehendi possent;* or, put case they did understand, yet they were altogether unprofitable: for what matter is it for us to know how high the Pleiades are, how far distant Perseus and Cassiopea from us, how deep the sea, &c? we are neither wiser, as he follows it, nor modester, nor better, nor richer, nor stronger, for the knowledge of it: *quod supra nos nihil ad nos.* I may say the same of those genethliacal studies, what is astrology, but vain elections, predictions? all magick, but a troublesome errour, a pernicious foppery? physick, but intricate rules and prescriptions? philology, but vain criticisms? logick, needless sophisms? metaphysicks themselves, but intricate subtilties, and fruitless abstractions? alchymy but a bundle of errours? To what end are such great tomes? why do we spend so many yeares in their studies? Much better to know nothing at all, as those barbarous Indians are wholly ignorant, than, as some of us, to be so sore vexed about unprofitable toyes: *stultus labor est ineptiarum;* to build

[a] Adrian. [b] Industria superflua circa res inutiles. [c] Flavæ secreta Mipervæ ut viderat Aglaurus. Ov. Met. 2. [d] Contra Philos. cap. 61.

an house without pins, make a rope of sand; to what end? *cui bono?* He studies on; but, as the boy told St. Austin, when I have laved the sea dry, thou shalt understand the mystery of the Trinity. He makes observations, keeps times and seasons; (and as [a] Conradus the emperour would not touch his new bride, till an astrologer had told him a masculine hour) but with what success? He travels into Europe, Africk, Asia, searcheth every creek, sea, city, mountain, gulf; to what end? See one promontory, (said Socrates of old) one mountain, one sea, one river; and see all. An alchymist spends his fortunes to finde out the philosophers stone forsooth, cure all diseases, make men long-lived, victorious, fortunate, invisible, and beggers himself, misled by those seducing impostours (which he shall never attain) to make gold: an antiquary consumes his treasure and time to scrape up a company of old coyns, statues, rolls, edicts, manuscripts, &c. he must know what was done of old in Athens, Rome, what lodging, dyet, houses they had, and have all the present news at first, though never so remote, before all others, what projects, counsells, consultations, &c. *quid Juno in aurem insusurret Jovi*, what's now decreed in France, what in Italy: who was he, whence comes he, which way, whither goes he, &c. Aristotle must finde out the motion of Euripus; Pliny must needs see Vesuvius; but how sped they? One loseth goods, another his life. Pyrrhus will conquer Africk first, and then Asia: he will be a sole monarch, a second immortal, a third rich, a fourth commands. [b] *Turbine magno spes solicitæ in urbibus errant;* we run, ride, take indefatigable pains, all up early, down late, striving to get that, which we had better be without: Ardelions, busie-bodies, as we are, it were much fitter for us to be quiet, sit still, and take our ease. His sole study is for words, that they be,

—— Lepide λεξεις compostæ, ut tesserulæ omnes,

not a syllable misplaced, to set out a stramineous subject; as thine is about apparel, to follow the fashion, to be terse and polite; 'tis thy sole business; both with like profit. His only delight is building: he spends himself to get curious pictures, intricate models and plots; another is wholly ceremonious about titles, degrees, inscriptions: a third is over-solicitous about his dyet; he must have such and such exquisite sawces, meat so dressed, so far fetched, *peregrini aëris volucres*, so cooked, &c. something to provoke thirst, something anon to quench his thirst. Thus he redeems his appetite with extraordinary charge to his purse, is seldome pleased with any meal, whilst a trivial

[a] Mat. Paris. [b] Seneca.

stomach useth all with delight, and is never offended. Another must have roses in winter, *alieni temporis flores*, snow-water in summer, fruits before they can be or are usually ripe, artificial gardens and fish-ponds on the tops of houses, all things opposite to the vulgar sort, intricate and rare, or else they are nothing worth. So busie, nice, curious wits, make that unsupportable in all vocations, trades, actions, employments, which to duller apprehensions is not offensive, earnestly seeking that, which others as scornfully neglect. Thus, through our foolish curiosity, do we macerate ourselves, tire our soules, and run headlong, through our indiscretion, perverse will, and want of government, into many needless cares and troubles, vain expences, tedious journeys, painful hours; and, when all is done, *quorsum hæc? cui bono?* to what end?

> [a] Nescire velle quæ Magister maximus!
> Docere non vult, erudita fuscitia est.

Unfortunate marriage.] Amongst these passions and irksome accidents, unfortunate marriage many be ranked: a condition of life appointed by God himself in Paradise, an honourable and happy estate, and as great a felicity as can befall a man in this world, [b] if the parties can agree as they ought, and live as [c] Seneca lived with his Paullina: but if they be unequally matched, or at discord, a greater miserie cannot be expected, to have a scold, a slut, an harlot, a fool, a Fury or a fiend; there can be no such plague. (Ecclus. 26. 7) *He that hath her, is as if he held a scorpion*; (and 5. 16) *a wicked wife makes a sorry countenance, an heavy heart; and he had rather dwell with a lion, than keep house with such a wife.* Her [d] properties Jovianus Pontanus hath described at large *(Ant. dial. Tom. 2)* under the name of Euphorbia. Or if they be not equal in yeares, the like mischiefe happens. Cæcilius (in Agellius, *lib. 2. cap. 23)* complains much of an old wife: *dum ejus morti inhio, egomet mortuus vivo inter vivos*; whilst I gape after her death, I live a dead man amongst the living; or, if they dislike upon any occasion,

> [e] Judge, you that are unfortunately wed,
> What 'tis to come into a loathed bed.

The same inconvenience befalls women.

> [f] At vos, o duri, miseram lugete, parentes,
> Si ferro aut laqueo lævâ hac me exsolvere sorte
> Sustineo:——

[a] Jos. Scaliger, in Gnomis. [b] A vertuous woman is the crown of her husband, Prov. 12. 4. but she, &c. [c] Lib. 17. epist. 105. [d] Titionatur, candelabratur, &c. [e] Daniel, in Rosamund. [f] Chalinorus, lib. 9. de repub. Angl.

Hard hearted parents, both lament my fate,
If self I kill or hang, to ease my state.

[a] A yong gentlewoman in Basil was marryed (saith Felix Plater, *Observat. l.* 1) to an ancient man against her will, whom she could not affect: she was continually melancholy, and pined away for griefe; and, though her husband did all he could possibly to give her content, in a discontented humour at length she hanged her self. Many other stories he relates in this kinde. Thus men are plagued with women, they again with men, when they are of divers humours and conditions; he a spendthrift, she sparing; one honest, the other dishonest, &c. Parents many times disquiet their children, and they their parents. [b] *A foolish son is an heaviness to his mother. Injusta noverca:* a step-mother often vexeth a whole family, is matter of repentance, exercise of patience, fuel of dissention, which made Cato's son expostulate with his father, why he should offer to marry his client Solinius daughter, a yong wench—*cujus caussâ novercam induceret?* what offence had he done, that he should marry again?

Unkind, unnatural friends, evil neighbours, bad servants, debts, and debates, &c.—'twas Chilon's sentence, *comes æris alieni et litis est miseria*, miserie and usury do commonly go together; suretyship is the bane of many families; *sponde, præsto noxa est: he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger* (Prov. 11. 15), *and he that hateth suretyship is sure.* Contention, brawling, law-sutes, falling out of neighbours and friends, *(discordia demens, Virg. Æn. 6.)* are equal to the first, grieve many a man, and vex his soule. *Nihil sane miserabilius eorum mentibus* (as Boter holds): *nothing so miserable as such men, full of cares, griefes, anxieties, as if they were stabbed with a sharp sword: feare, suspition, desperation, sorrow, are their ordinary companions.* Our Welchmen are noted, by some of their [d] own writers, to consume one another in this kinde; but, whosoever they are that use it, these are their common symptomes, especially if they be conviet or overcome, [e] cast in a sute. Arius, put out of a bishoprick by Eustathius, turned heretick, and lived after discontented all his life. [f] Every repulse is of like nature; *heu! quantâ de spe decidi!* Disgrace, infamy, detraction, will almost effect as much, and

[a] Elegans virgo invita cuidam e nostratibus nupsit, &c. [b] Prov. [c] De increm. urb. lib. 3. c. 3. Tamquam diro mucrone confossi: his nulla requies, nulla delectatio; solicitudine, gemitu, furore, desperatione, timore, tamquam ad perpetuam ærumnam infeliciter rapti. [d] Humfredus Lluyd, epist. ad Abrahamum Ortelium. M. Vaughan, in his Golden Fleece. Litibus et controversiis usque ad omnium bonorum consumptionem contenduut. [e] Spretæque injuria formæ. [f] Quæque repulsa gravis.

that a long time after. Hipponax, a satyricall poet, so vilified and lashed two painters in his iambicks, *ut ambo laqueo se suffocarent* ([a]Pliny saith), both hanged themselves. All oppositions, dangers, perplexities, discontents, [b]to live in any suspence, are of the same rank: *potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?* who can be secure in such cases? Ill bestowed benefits, ingratitude, unthankful friends, much disquiet and molest some. Unkind speeches trouble as many: uncivil carriage or dogged answers, weak women above the rest, if they proceed from their surly husbands, are as bitter as gaul, and not to be digested. A glass-mans wife in Basil became melancholy, because her husband said he would marry again if she dyed. *No cut, to unkindness,* as the saying is: a frown and hard speech, ill respect, a brow-beating, or bad-look, especially to courtiers, or such as attend upon great persons, is present death.

Ingenium vultu statque caditque suo;

they ebb and flow with their masters favours. Some persons are at their wits ends, if by chance they overshoot themselves in their ordinary speeches or actions, which may after turn to their disadvantage or disgrace, or have any secret disclosed. Ronseus *(epist. miscel* 3.) reports of a gentlewoman twenty five yeares old, that, falling fowl with one of her gossips, was upbraided with a secret infirmity, (no matter what) in publike, and so much grieved with it, that she did thereupon *solitudines quærere, omnes ab se ablegare, ac tandem in gravissimam incidens melancholiam, contabescere*—forsake all company, quite moped, and in a melancholy humour pine away. Others are much tortured to see themselves rejected, contemned, scorned, disabled, diffamed, detracted, undervalued, or [c]*left behind their fellowes.* Lucian brings in Ætamocles a philosopher in his *Lapith. convivio,* much discontented that he was not invited amongst the rest, expostulating the matter, in a long epistle, with Aristænetus their host. Prætextatus, a robed gentleman in Plutarch, would not sit down at a feast, because he might not sit highest, but went his wayes all in a chafe. We see the common quarrellings that are ordinary with us, for taking of the wall, precedency, and the like, which though toyes in themselves, and things of no moment, yet they cause many distempers, much heart-burning amongst us. Nothing piereeth deeper than a contempt or disgrace; [d]especially if they be generous spirits, scarce any thing affects

[a] Lib. 36. c. 5. [b] Nihil æque amarum, quam diu pendere: æquiore quidam animo ferunt præcidi spem suam, quam trahi. Seneca, cap. 4. lib. 2. de Ben.—Virg.—Plater. observat. l. 1. [c] Turpe relinqui est. Hor. [d] Scimus enim generosas naturas nullâ re citius moveri, aut gravius affici, quam contemtu ac despicientiâ.

them more than to be despised or vilifyed. Croto *(consil. 16. l. 2)* exemplifies it, and common experience confirms it. Of the same nature is oppression; *(Eccles, 7. 7) surely oppression makes a man mad;* loss of liberty, which made Brutus venture his life, Cato kill himself, and [a]Tullie complain, *omnem hilaritatem in perpetuum amisi*, mine heart's broken, I shall never look up, or be merry again; [b]*hæc jactura intolerabilis;* to some parties 'tis a most intolerable loss. Banishment, a great miserie, as Tyrtæus describes it in an epigram of his,

Nam miserum est, patriâ amissâ, laribusque, vagari
Mendicum, et timidâ voce rogare cibos.
Omnibus invisus, quocumque accesserit, exsul
Semper erit; semper spretus egensque jacet, &c.

A miserable thing 'tis so to wander,
And like a begger for to whine at door,
Contemn'd of all the world an exile is,
Hated, rejected, needy still, and poor.

Polynices, in his conference with Iocasta, in [c]Euripides, reckons up five miseries of a banished man, the least of which alone were enough to deject some pusillanimous creatures. Oftentimes a too great feeling of our own infirmities or imperfections of body or minde will rivel us up; as, if we be long sick,

(O beata sanitas! te præsente, amœnum
Ver floret gratiis; absque te nemo beatus:

O blessed health! *thou art above all gold and treasure (Ecclus 30. 15)* the poor mans riches, the rich mans bliss: without thee, there can be no happiness) or visited with some loathsome disease, offensive to others, or troublesome to our selves, as a stinking breath, deformity of our limbs, crookedness, loss of an eye, leg, hand, paleness, leanness, redness, baldness, loss or want of hair, &c. *hic ubi fluere cæpit, diros ictus cordi infert,* (saith [d]Synesius, he himself troubled not a little *ob comæ defectum)* the loss of hair alone strikes a cruel stroke to the heart. Accu, an old woman, seeing by chance her face in a true glass (for she used false flattering glasses, behke, at other times, as most gentlewomen do) *animi dolore in insaniam delapsa est* (Cœlius Rhodoginus *l. 17. c. 2*) ran mad. [e]Broteas, the son of Vulcan, because he was ridiculous for his imperfections, flung himself into the fire. Laïs of Corinth, now grown old, gave up her glass to Venus; for she could not abide to look upon it.

[f]Qualis sum, nolo; qualis eram, nequeo.

[a] Ad Atticum epist. lib. 12. [b] Epist. ad Brutum. [c] In Phœniss.
[d] In laudem calvit. [e] Ovid. [f] E. Cret.

Generally, to faire nice peeces, old age and fowl linnen are two odious things, a torment of torments; they may not abide the thought of it.

> [a] ——————— ô deorum
> Siquis hæc audis, utinam inter errem
> Nuda leones!
> Antequam turpis macies decentes
> Occupet malas, teneræque succus
> Defluat prædæ, speciosa quæro
> Pascere tigres.

To be fowl, ugly, and deformed! much better to be buryed alive. Some are faire, but barren; and that gauls them. Hannah *wept sore, did not eat, and was troubled in spirit, and all for her barrenness* (1 Sam. 1), and (Gen. 30) Rachel said *in the anguish of her soule, give me a child, or I shall dye:* another hath too many: one was never marryed, and that's his hell; another is, and that's his plague. Some are troubled in that they are obscure; others by being traduced, slandered, abused, disgraced, vilified, or any way injured: *minime miror eos* (as he said) *qui insanire occipiunt ex injuria;* I marvail not at all if offences make men mad. Seaventeen particular causes of anger and offence Aristotle reckons them up, which, for brevities sake, I must omit. No tydings troubles one; ill reports, rumours, bad tydings, or news, hard hap, ill success, cast in a sute, vain hopes, or hope deferred, another: expectation, *adeo omnibus in rebus molesta semper est expectatio* (as [b]Polybius observes): one is too eminent, another too base born; and that alone tortures him as much as the rest: one is out of action, company, employment; another overcome and tormented with worldly cares, and onerous business. But what [c]tongue can suffice to speak of all?

Many men catch this malady by eating certain meats, herbs, roots, at unawares, as henbane, nightshade, cicuta, mandrakes, &c. [d]A company of yong men at Agrigentum, in Sicily, came into a tavern; where after they had freely taken their liquor, whether it were the wine it self, or something mixt with it, 'tis not yet known, [e]but upon a suddain they began to be so troubled in their brains, and their phantasie so crazed, that they thought they were in a ship at sea, and now ready to be cast away by reason of a tempest. Wherefore, to

[a] Hor. 3. Car. Ode 27. [b] Hist. l. 6. [c] Non, mihi si centum linguæ sint, oraque centum, Omnia *causarum* percurrere nomina possim. [d] Cœlius, l. 17. c. 2. [e] Ita mentes exagitati sunt, ut in triremi se constitutos putarent, eamque vadabundo tempestate jactatos: proinde naufragium veriti, egestis undique rebus, vasa omnia in viam e fenestris, ceu in mare, præcipitarunt: postridie, &c.

avoid shipwrack and present drowning, they flung all the goods in the house out at the windowes into the street, or into the sea, as they supposed. Thus they continued mad a pretty season; and, being brought before the magistrate, to give an account of this their fact, they told him (not yet recovered of their madness) that what was done they did for feare of death, and to avoid imminent danger. The spectatours were all amazed at this their stupidity, and gazed on them still, whilst one of the antientest of the company, in a grave tone, excused himself to the magistrate upon his knees. *O viri Tritones, ego in imo jacui;* I beseech your deities, &c. for I was in the bottom of the ship all the while: another besought them, as so many sea gods, to be good unto them; and, if ever he and his fellowes came to land again, [a] he would build an altar to their service. The magistrate could not sufficiently laugh at this their madness, bid them sleep it out, and so went his wayes. Many such accidents frequently happen upon these unknown occasions. Some are so caused by philters, wandring in the sun, biting of a mad dog, a blow on the head, stinging with that kinde of spider called tarantula—an ordinary thing (if we may believe Sckenck. *l.* 6. *de Venenis)* in Calabria and Apulia in Italy (Cardan. *subtil. l.* 9. Scaliger, *exercitat.* 185). Their symptomes are merrily described by Jovianus Pontanus *(Ant. dial.)* how they dance altogether, and are cured by musick. [b] Cardan speaks of certain stones, if they be carryed about one, which will cause melancholy and madness; he calls them unhappy, as an [c] *adamant, selenites, &c. which dry up the body, increase cares, diminish sleep.* Ctesias (in Persicis) makes mention of a well in those parts, of which if any man drink, [d] *he is mad for four and twenty hours.* Some lose their wits by terrible objects (as elsewhere I have more [e] copiously dilated), and life it self many times, as Hippolytus affrighted by Neptune's sea-horses, Athamas by Juno's Furies: but these relations are common in all writers.

> [f] Hic alias poteram et plures subnectere caussas:
> Sed jumenta vocant, et Sol inclinat. Eundum est.
>
> Many such causes, much more could I say,
> But that for provender my cattel stay,
> The sun declines, and I must needs away.

These causes, if they be considered, and come alone, I do easily yeeld, can do little of themselves, seldome, or apart, (an old oke is not felled at a blow) though many times they are all sufficient

[a] Aram vobis servatoribus diis erigemus. [b] Lib. de gemmis. [c] Quæ gestata infelicem et tristem reddunt, curas augent, corpus siccant, somnum eripiunt. [d] Ad unum diem mente alienatus. [e] Part. 1. Sect. 2. Subsect. 3. [f] Juven. Sat. 3.

every one: yet, if they concurr, as often they do, *vis unita fortior;*

Et quæ non obsunt singula, multa nocent;

they may batter a strong constitution; as [a] Austin said, *many grains and small sands sink a ship, many small drops make a flood, &c.* Often reiterated, many dispositions produce an habit.

MEMB. V. SUBSECT. I.

Continent, inward, antecedent, next Causes; and how the Body works on the Minde.

AS a purly hunter, I have hitherto beaten about the circuit of the forrest of this microcosme, and followed only those outward adventitious causes. I will now break into the inner rooms, and rip up the antecedent immediate causes which are there to be found. For, as the distraction of the minde, amongst other outward causes, and perturbation, alters the temperature of the body, so the distraction and distemper of the body will cause a distemperature of the soule; and 'tis hard to decide which of these two do more harm to the other. Plato, Cyprian, and some others, (as I have formerly said) lay the greatest fault upon the soule, excusing the body; others again, accusing the body, excuse the soule, as a principall agent. Their reasons are, because [b] *the manners do follow the temperature of the body*, as Galen proves in his book of that subject, Prosper Calenus, *de Atrâ Bile*, Jason Pratensis, *c. de Maniâ*, Lemnius, *l.* 4. *c.* 16. and many others. And that which Gualter hath commented *(hom.* 10. *in epist. Johannis)* is most true; concupiscence and original sin, inclinations and bad humours, are [c] radical in every one of us, causing these perturbations, affections, and severall distempers, offering many times violence unto the soule. *Every man is tempted by his own concupiscence* (James 1. 14); *the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, and rebelleth against the spirit*, as our [d] apostle teacheth us: that methinks the soule hath the better plea against the body, which so forcibly inclines us, that we cannot resist;

Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum,
Sufficimus.

How the body, being material, worketh upon the immaterial soule, by mediation of humours and spirits which participate of both, and ill disposed organs, Cornelius Agrippa hath discoursed, *lib.* 1. *de occult. Philos. cap.* 63, 64, 65. Levinus Lem-

[a] Intus bestiæ minutæ multæ necant. Numquid minutissima sunt grana arenæ? sed et arena amplius in navem mittatur, mergit illam: quam minutæ guttæ pluviæ! et tamen implent flumina, domus ejiciunt: timenda ergo ruina multitudinis, si non magnitudinis. [b] Mores sequuntur temperaturam corporis. [c] Scintillæ latent in corporibus. [d] Gal. 5.

nius, *lib.* 1. *de occult. nat. mir. cap.* 12. *et* 16. *et* 21. *institut. ad opt. vit.* Perkins, *lib.* 1. *Cases of Cons. cap.* 12. T. Bright, *c.* 10, 11, 12. *in his Treatise of melancholy.* For, as [a] anger, feare, sorrow, obtrectation, emulation, &c. *si mentis intimos recessus occupârint,* (saith [b] Lemnius) *corpori quoque infesta sunt, et illi teterrimos morbos inferunt,* cause grievous diseases in the body, so bodily diseases affect the soule by consent. Now the chiefest causes proceed from the [c] heart, humours, spirits: as they are purer, or impurer, so is the minde, and equally suffers, as a lute out of tune; if one string or one organ be distempered, all the rest miscarry:

> ——————— [d] Corpus, onustum
> Hesternis vitiis, animum quoque prægravat unâ.

The body is *domicilium animæ,* her house, abode, and stay; and, as a torch gives a better light, a sweeter smell, according to the matter it is made of, so doth our soule perform all her actions better or worse, as her organs are disposed; or as wine savours of the cask wherein it is kept, the soule receives a tincture from the body, through which it works. We see this in old men, children, Europeans, Asians, hot and cold climes. Sanguine are merry, melancholy sad, flegmatick dull, by reason of abundance of those humours; and they cannot resist such passions which are inflicted by them: for, in this infirmity of humane nature, (as Melancthon declares) the understanding is so tyed to and captivated by his inferiour senses, that, without their help, he cannot exercise his functions; and the will, being weakned, hath but a small power to restrain those outward parts, but suffers her self to be overruled by them; that I must needs conclude with Lemnius, *spiritus et humores maximum nocumentum obtinent,* spirits and humours do most harm in [e] troubling the soule. How should a man choose but be cholerick and angry, that hath his body so clogged with abundance of gross humours? or melancholy, that is so inwardly disposed? That thence comes then this malady, madness, apoplexies, lethargies, &c. it may not be denyed.

Now this body of ours is, most part, distempered by some precedent diseases, which molest his inward organs and instruments, and so, *per consequens,* cause melancholy, according to the consent of the most approved physitians. [f] *This humour* (as Avicenna *l.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract.* 4. *c.* 18. Arnoldus *breviar. l.* 1. *c.* 18. Jacchinus *comment. in* 9. *Rhasis. c.* 15. Montaltus

[a] Sicut ex animi affectionibus corpus languescit, sic ex corporis vitiis et morborum plerisque cruciatibus animum videmus hebetari. Galenus. [b] Lib. 1. c. 16. [c] Corporis itidem morbi animam per consensum, a lege consortii, afficiunt; et, quamquam objecta multos motus turbulentos in homine concitent, præcipua tamen causa in corde, et humoribus, spiritibusque, consistit, &c. [d] Hor. [e] Humores pravi mentem obnubilant. [f] Hic humor vel a partis intemperie generatur, vel relinquitur post inflammationes, vel crassior in venis conclusus vel torpidus malignam qualitatem contrahit.

c. 10. Nicholas Piso c. *de Melan. &c.* suppose) *is begotten by the distemperature of some inward part, innate, or left after some inflammation, or else included in the blood after an* [a] *ague, or some other malignant disease.* This opinion of theirs concurrs with that of Galen, *l.* 3. *c.* 6. *de locis affect.* Guianerius gives an instance in one so caused by a quartan ague; and Montanus, *(consil.* 32*)* in a yong man of twenty eight yeares of age, so distempered after a quartan, which had molested him for five yeares together. Hildesheim *(spicil.* 2. *de Mania)* relates of a Dutch baron, grievously tormented with melancholy after a long [b] ague. Galen *(l. de atrâ bile, c.* 4*)* puts the plague a cause; Botaldus (in his book *de lue vener. c.* 2*)* the French pox for a cause; others, phrensie, epilepsie, apoplexie, because those diseases do often degenerate into this. Of suppression of hæmrods, hæmorrhagia, or bleeding at nose, menstruous retentions, (although they deserve a larger explication, as being the sole cause of a proper kinde of melancholy, in more ancient maids, nuns, and widows, handled apart by Rodericus a Castro, and Mercatus, as I have elsewhere sighified) or any other evacuation stopped, I have already spoken. Only this I will add, that this melancholy, which shall be caused by such infirmities, deserves to be pitied of all men, and to be respected with a more tender compassion, (according to Laurentius) as coming from a more inevitable cause.

SUBSECT. II.

Distemperature of particular Parts, Causes.

THERE is almost no part of the body, which, being distempered, doth not cause this malady, as the brain and his parts, heart, liver, spleen, stomach, matrix or womb, pylorus, myrache, mesentery, hypochondries, mesaraick veins; and, in a word, (saith [c] Arculanus) *there is no part which causeth not melancholy, either because it is adust, or doth not expell the superfluity of the nutriment.* Savanarola *(Pract. major. rubric.* 11. *Tract.* 6. *cap.* 1*)* is of the same opinion, that melancholy is ingendred in each particular part; and [d] Crato *(in consil.* 17. *lib.* 2*)*. Gordonius, who is *instar omnium,*

[a] Sæpe constat in febre hominem melancholicum vel post febrem reddi, aut alium morbum. Calida intemperies innata, vel a febre contracta. [b] Raro quis diuturno morbo laborat, qui non sit melancholicus. Mercurialis, de affect. capitis, lib. 1. c. 10. de Melanc. [c] Ad nonum lib. Rhasis ad Almansor. c. 16. Universaliter a quâcunque parte potest fieri melancholicus. Vel quia aduritur, vel quia non expellit superfluitatem excrementi. [d] A liene, jecinore, utero, et aliis partibus, oritur.

(lib. med. partic. 2. cap. 10) confirms as much, putting the [a]*matter of melancholy sometimes in the stomach, liver, heart, brain, spleen, myrache, hypochondries, when as the melancholy humour resides there, or the liver is not well cleansed from melancholy blood.*

The brain is a familiar and frequent cause, too hot, or too cold, [b]*through adust blood so caused* (as Mercurialis will have it) *within or without the head;* the brain it self being distempered. Those are most apt to this disease, [c]*that have a hot heart and moist brain;* which Montaltus *(cap. 11. de Melanch.)* approves out of Halyabbas, Rhasis, and Avicenna. Mercurialis *(consil. 11)* assigns the coldness of the brain a cause; and Sallustius Salvianus *(med. lec. 2. c. 1)* [d]will have it *arise from a cold and dry distemperature of the brain.* Piso, Benedictus, Victorius Faventinus, will have it proceed from a [e]*hot distemperature of the brain;* and [f]Montaltus *(cap. 10)* from the brains heat, scorching the blood. The brain is still distempered by himself, or by consent; by himself or his proper affection (as Faventinus calls it), [g]*or by vapours which arise from the other parts, and fume up into the head, altering the animal faculties.*

Hildesheim *(spicil. 2. de Maniâ)* thinks it may be caused from a [h]*distemperature of the heart, sometimes hot, sometimes cold.* A hot liver and a cold stomach are put for usual causes of melancholy. Mercurialis *(consil. 11. et consil. 6. consil. 86)* assigns a hot liver and cold stomach for ordinary causes. [i]Monavius (in an epistle of his to Crato, in Scoltzius) is of opinion that hypochondriacal melancholy may arise from a cold liver. The question is there discussed. Most agree that a hot liver is in fault. [k]*The liver is the shop of humours, and especially causeth melancholy by his hot and dry distemperature.* [l]*The stomach, and mesaraïck veins do often concurr, by reason of their obstructions; and thence their heat cannot be avoided; and many times the matter is so adust and inflamed in those parts, that it degenerates into hypochondriacal melancholy.* Guianerius *(c. 2. Tract. 15)* holds the mesaraïck

[a] Materia melancholiæ aliquando in corde, in stomacho, hepate, ab hypochondriis, myrache, splene, cum ibi remanet humor melancholicus. [b] Ex sanguine adusto, intra vel extra caput. [c] Qui calidum cor habent, cerebrum humidum, facile melancholici. [d] Sequitur melancholia malam intemperiem frigidam et siccam ipsius cerebri. [e] Sæpe fit ex calidiore cerebro, aut corpore colligente melancholiam, Piso. [f] Vel per propriam affectionem, vel per consensum, cum vapores exhalant in cerebrum. Montalt. cap. 14. [g] Aut ibi gignitur melancholicus fumus, aut aliunde vehitur, alterando animales facultates. [h] Ab intemperie cordis, modo calidiore, modo frigidiore. [i] Epist. 239. Scoltzii. [k] Officina humorum hepar concurrit, &c. [l] Ventriculus et venæ mesaraïcæ concurrunt, quod hæ partes obstructæ sunt, &c.